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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY  
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## Letters To The Editor

### THE "FATHER OF THE NATION"

Dear Madam: In the issue of June 7, of Thought Mr. Shyam D. Paliwal has attacked Mr. Basheer Hussein and Mr. A. Fernandes for taking exception to the wrong title conferred upon Gandhi by Congress men. Mr. Paliwal has not tried to refute the objections raised by Mr. Hussein and Mr. Fernandes, which are rational, scientific, and entirely correct from the Islamic and Christian points of view.

Mr. Paliwal goes off the tangent when he brings in the Hindu-Muslim riots of British days and holds Mahasabha, the Muslim League and the RSS responsible. How has that to do with the foolish and absolutely incorrect title that the Congressmen have conferred on Gandhi? As is well known these riots were caused first, by the "divide and rule" policy of the British and equally by the appeasement policy pursued by the Congress and Gandhi. With all his preachings of Hindu-Muslim unity, and his wrong policy of aligning the reactionary, fanatic Khilafat movement with the Freedom Movement, Gandhi DID NOT succeed in achieving Hindu-Muslim unity. And when the Great Killings of Calcutta and Noakhali took place Gandhi openly confessed his failure when he said that "I am groping in the dark". Again Gandhi had said that Pakistan would come over his dead body. But when Pakistan DID COME Gandhi stated that his place was in Pakistan and NOT in India!

Mr. Paliwal takes objection to Mr. Fernandes' statement that Gandhi's appeasement policy led to the partition of the nation and cannot be rightly styled the Father of the Nation. That he "wished" for unity is one thing, and the RESULTS of his policy are quite another thing. And Mr. Fernandes states the correct results. Mr. Paliwal dubs Mr. Fernandes as irrational, and says that he does not think with reason.

Similarly Mr. Paliwal has no answer to Mr. Hussein's statement, "How can Gandhi, who called himself the son of the Motherland be also the 'Father of the Nation'? It is not Mr. Hussein and Mr. Fernan-

des who are irrational and unscientific but Mr. Paliwal with his repetitions and usual Congress cliches.

Mr. Paliwal questions the representative Muslim character of Mr. Hussein and also questions the sanity of Mr. Fernandes. At this rate any controversy could be dragged down to the level of personalities. And as against Hussein he cites K. A. Abbas a representative Muslim. In the first place if Mr. Hussein is a Sunni Muslim, and the Sunnis form the majority, Abbas ceases to be a pucca Muslim as he is a Shia. As for playing the role of the middle-of-the-way Leftist and also as a Congressman Abbas' opportunist part is known to those who have watched his public career.

And lastly Mr. Paliwal has a dig at the Jan Sangh which he characterises as a body with its core the RSS "boys". One wonders whether the RSS "boys" were responsible for electing 25 members to the Delhi Corporation and also defeating the Congress candidate at the Gurgaon bye-election by an overwhelming margin. This is like giving a dog a bad name and hanging it. That Jan Sangh has come to stay in many parts of the country may not exactly suit Congressmen like Paliwal, but in democracy there is no such thing as monopoly of power as the Congressmen imagine.

The whole controversy over the wrong title resolves into, why in the name of secularism, rationality and sanity, should we cultivate the personality cult of Gandhi and Nehru after the fashion of the totalitarian Russia with her Lenin and Stalin myths? That is the strongest argument against the title "Father of the Nation".

Bombay

D. P. Shah

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## A CASE OF MENTAL SOFTNESS

The situation on the Assam border has become grave, as expected by informed observers, and reveals the full extent of the Pakistani intentions of which recent border violations were indications. The deployment of Pakistani armed forces along the whole extent of the 800 mile border, under the pretext of dealing with smuggling by nationals of both countries, no longer carries conviction. Bunkers, trenches and big guns are not necessary to deal with smugglers!

It is clear to all except to our defence authorities that protests and joint official discussions and negotiations at secretariat, ambassadorial, or ministerial levels with Pakistan are of no use whatever. A dozen "cease-fire" agreements on this border have been broken by Pakistani military and police forces cynically each time they were signed. The faith in negotiation displayed by our Prime Minister is pathetic and in relation to Pakistan, it is psycho-neurotic, as we must call it on account of its persistent unreasonableness. It is on a par with Gandhi's and his party's insistence in pre-independence days, that Muslim leaders are friends of Hindus, even though they exhibit every mark of hostility and refuse to belong to "one nation" with us on equal terms. They do not claim to be our friends, except on their own terms. But we insist in clear and outrageous contradiction of facts and of the disclaimer made by them that we are friends of theirs and remain friends with them *whatever their misdeeds against us may be!* This has been a plain case of mental softness.

In a similar spirit, neither, learning from the past nor understanding the past behaviour of Pakistan, our Prime Minister said in a press conference that he was prepared for negotiation with Pakistan, at any level, to settle the border attacks and the elaborate military preparations on the Assam border. He confessed, with a fine air of injured innocence, that in everything Pakistan betrayed being motivated by hatred and said that *he could not understand it at all.* If the phrase means that he is unwilling to say which may sound harsh that the motive of Pakistan is too bad for words, it may be excusable as a legitimate diplomatic practice of understatement. But knowing the Prime Minister and his antecedents as we do, we can only draw the legitimate inference that he is strictly literal, and correct in his avowal that he does not *understand the mentality of Pakistan.*

## NEHRU HAS TO KNOW THAT HE IS THE LEADER OF INDIA

But he seems unaware that such language may be fine and justifiable in private life as becomes refined gentlemen imbued with the veneer of secular culture. But it argues a fateful incompetence in an Indian official leader charged with the destinies of India with its long record of Hindu-Muslim conflict and rivalry. It is the plain duty of persons who come to power in free India, to acquire a proper historical and psychological insight into the mind of Muslims, and of Islam

generally as a religion and as a social and political system. *The attitude of Pakistan is determined by history and the ideology of Islam.*

History has given them an ineradicable hope of reviving the glory and power of Moghul days in India. Their psychology is the outcome of their Islamic culture, that gives them a fanatic ambition to convert *dar-ul-harab* into *dar-ul-Islam*, countries of non-believers into countries of believers by all means available. The hatred that Pandit Nehru complains of in Pakistanis is the feeling natural to people, who have made up their mind to displace Indian rulers in India and rule the kafir Hindu and other non-Muslims. The hope that modern Muslims are too "secular" to entertain such ancient beliefs is groundless.

## TIT FOR TAT TREATMENT

Having taken Kashmir and being determined to retain our sovereign independence, under conditions of supposed composite culture is unalterably and unavoidably in the way of Pakistan realising her ambitions. It is natural for Pakistan to entertain the completest hatred towards India under her present dispensation. It is the case of an irresistible force meeting with an immovable obstacle. This is the proper diagnosis and is indispensable for the shaping of any adequate policy towards Pakistan. But the Prime Minister, under Gandhian inspiration, is unable even to face this grim fact. He deceives himself and Indians generally, by persisting in the futile hope that Islam could be discounted as an hostile force coming in the way of Indian aspirations, and that appeasement could show results by way of the assimilation of Muslims in India and of lasting friendship with Islamic countries. He has to study both Islam and Indian culture other than the code of *sanyasis*, Buddhist, Jain and Vedic, before he can evolve a policy effective *vis a vis* Pakistan and the Islamic world for defence and lasting peace. The first step for success in this new line is to acquire *a position of strength* in regard to Pakistan. *Instant reply of fire without waiting for central direction is the only way in which Pakistani border truculence can be stopped.*

## RESEARCH IN ISLAMIC HISTORY NEEDED

The American Government have several desks devoted to the study of facts and peoples and rulers in their foreign offices, presided over by their Secretary of State. They accumulate tested data on the several countries of the world, and present them to the policy makers in the upper ranks in clear and brief statements. Here imponderables as well as patent facts of economy, policy and psychology are all taken account of. Many officials learn the language prevalent in the countries included in their desk.

It is to be hoped that the Indian Ministry of External Affairs will develop a section for research in the past and present of Islamic peoples and countries including Indian Muslims. We are not aware of any private institution in India that studies Islam and her

contribution to human civilisation and human misery. The R. L. Foundation in Bombay, of which this journal is a mouth-piece, has this subject as one of its fields of study. If work in this subject is carried out systematically, on the scale it demands, authentic knowledge of indispensable value will be forthcoming, and will have a beneficent influence on our policy makers. It will then be impossible for persons in office to say that they do not understand Pakistan and her strange and unaccountable hatreds and behaviour. Some social psychology is also necessary for this purpose of understanding our neighbours and fellow nationals among us of the Islamic faith.

### ISLAM IS FANATICALLY EXCLUSIVE

The exclusiveness of Islam is as important a feature of its social and political system or society as its fraternity or brotherhood as between believers. It is this feature that comes in the way of their becoming integral parts of the nationality of the people among whom they happen to live.

Today we find the officials of Red China complaining of that Chinese Muslims (whom everybody thought have been assimilated into Chinese nationality long ago) are conspiring to have a separate State of their own as part of a world federation of Islam. In Lebanon, the Christian Arabs who are nearly 50 per cent of the population are finding it difficult to remain in the Arab world as an integral part of the Arab nationality. Muslim Arabs have passed under the pro-Soviet influence of President Nasser. Christian Arabs wish to retain their independent Lebanese nationality which is now threatening to break asunder. Thus any society that includes Muslims is under a Damocles Sword. Thus any composite nationality, including Muslims, is always under transition. Either it moves forward to the assimilation of non-Muslims into Islamic society, or it recedes to break up into different independent nationalities. Thus came the partitions of India and Palestine, and possibly Lebanon will split before long under the drive for Arab unity transcending national boundaries under Nasser. Since India has still a large part of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent in her national society, she has to evolve an original policy of her own towards them, based upon a proper understanding of the role of Islam as a social system. It will be more mature than the present softness, being all things to all men. This is a misapplication of ascetic morality, taught to individual *sanyasis* in India. "Panchasheela" of the Buddhist code *does not apply* to the code of States in a jungle of all out struggle for existence which is the condition of the international world today, and as it has been for ages.

### NASSER AND LEBANON

Three parties are interfering in Lebanon. The first party is Egypt under Nasser. The ink is hardly dry, after the signature of ratification of the United Arab Republic and of Yemen, than we hear of trouble in Lebanon between the Government, under the presidency of Chamoun and the pro-Egyptian elements, seeking to subvert it and merge it in the United Arab Republic. The other party, with its hand in the pie, is Soviet Russia which has infiltrated the country through assistance to the Lebanese Communist

Party. The communists, expelled from Syria by Nasser, have joined the Lebanese rebels. They enable Russia to have influence within Nasser's world. No doubt, when the Lebanese join the Arab Republic, Nasser will immobilise the pro-Soviet elements, for two swords cannot lie in the same scabbard. Today Nasser is trying to use Soviet Russia but the contestants have unequal power. The Soviets will win out in the end, for their power is joined to scientific strategy developed since the days of Lenin in first grade colleges of diplomacy and tested in world politics since the establishment of the Soviet Republics of Russia.

The last to arrive on the scene since the days of the French hegemony in the area is the United States which is yet bewildered by the scene and unable to get a real foothold. *It is intervening against the interventionists*, namely Egypt and Russia through Jordan and Iraq. The stage of world politics has so advanced that national affairs can no longer be contained within the borders of nations. The great powers especially have to play on the world stage. Every question concerning more than one nation threatens to become an aspect of the struggle for the world between Russia and America. As in Spain before world war II, the great powers, Britain, America, France, Germany, Russia and Italy "non-intervened" i.e. intervened against each other and so immobilised each other at least on the formal official plane, so today the big Two and the Arab Leader (the Big Arab) are "non-intervening" in Lebanon!

### THE LESSON FOR INDIA

The lesson for us in India is two-fold. One is that neutrality, non-alignment or other euphemism for intervention under camouflage can no longer suffice as a foreign policy for the present stage of global politics. The second is that India's penchant for delivering moral judgments on imperialists and capitalist nations in favour of socialist nations will ring upon her the ire of all the contending parties. They are fighting for high stakes, with death and slavery as the penalty for failure. They cannot tolerate neutrals—in effect those who sacrifice freedom for slavery, and those who wish to have something for nothing, who wish to enjoy the luxury of world freedom without contributing to the cost of maintaining it in the face of the most ruthless imperial system in the world. India must, sooner than later, take sides in this global struggle for freedom from world domination.

Nasser is playing the Great Powers against each other for his own empire of Arabs, from Morocco to Indonesia. For the present, he is confining his field of operations from Egypt and Libya and Algiers to the Persian Gulf. Later the wider panorama will no doubt appear on the horizon of his activity.

Now the question arises as to why India should side with the would-be Arab emperor or dictator (Nasser) and give him comfort and encouragement? What would be the position of India when Nasser or his successor succeeds in uniting the Muslim world in a single state system? Nasser has issued his cry in his book—*All power to the Muslims!* India has been unable under her idealist (falsely idealist) Prime Minister to understand and contain the small inefficient State of Pakistan. It would be too much to hope and expect that we shall be able to contain the whole

(Continued on Page 16)

# Plebiscite For Kashmir Valley

By V. R.

IT is surprising how foreign opinion, chiefly British and American, ignores the Indian case for Kashmir and supports so completely the Pakistani demand in spite of every right, legal and moral, in perfect accord, with the conditions laid down in the Instrument of Transfer of the British Parliament, according to which the decision of the ruling Maharaja was final. The finality of the ruler's decision was preferred by Jinnah himself.

It was a needless blunder that the Indian Government committed when they offered a plebiscite in a hurry, and in the glow of righteous emotions. It is said that the offer was made at the suggestion of Lord Mountbatten who was our Governor-General at the time. The retention of the British Admiral, as Governor-General of free India is another piece of quixotic generosity on our part, that argues at once insufficient nationalism and immaturity of political judgment. The Maharaja had formally acceded which was formally endorsed by Sheikh Abdullah as the leader of the largest political party in the State. The smaller political party, the Praja Parishad, being a party of the Hindus was certainly for accession to India unreservedly and whole-heartedly. Thus the offer of a plebiscite was totally uncalled for.

## TURNING THE SCALES IN FAVOUR OF THE AGGRESSOR

Gradually as our case before the Security Council wore on, the Anglo-Americans seized on the offer as if it were unconditional and connoted an implied weakness of the Indian case. The concession made under conditions (out of generosity) was seized upon as the central obligation that lay at the core of the problem. What was a superficial afterthought, intended to satisfy the democratic conscience of the Kashmiris, and of the world in general as the seal and proof of our *bona fides*, was taken hold of by the Anglo-Saxon partners as a means to turn the case in favour of the aggressor. The way in which the Security Council has turned the tables on India, and converted her from the role of a complainant to that of the accused, in complete justification of the aggressor Pakistan, is a study in international intrigue. It is an object lesson of the way in which the UNO (like the League of Nations before it) is used to serve the national interests of its leading members. Not to have seen this aspect of the matter, in spite of the example of the old League of Nations before them, is a measure of the ignorance and innocence of our leaders.

The latest example of the one-sided obduracy of foreign opinion is furnished by the comment of the *New York Times* on the re-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah. It said in a second editorial that the re-arrest was unjustifiable as the Sheikh only demanded the holding of the plebiscite that was agreed to by India. India is going back on her pledged word, said the American paper. This is typical of world opinion which has

been indoctrinated to this effect simplifying the issue and omitting the conditions attached from the beginning to the Indian promise of plebiscite.

In the first place, the plebiscite was offered, not to the aggressor, but to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, to reassure them that India would not hold them against their will.

Pakistan has no *locus standi* in regard to the matter. It has only the position of an aggressor. She instigated, armed and supplied the trans-frontier Pathans in October 1947. She later put her own army in the field against Indian forces defending Kashmir after accession. She pretended that her military personnel were *volunteers*. The UNCIP found her out when they came to India. She explained shame-facedly that she put her forces into Kashmir (in effect India) only to forestall Indian invasion! This is the standard argument of aggressors everywhere. All aggressive acts in history are claimed to have been inspired by the needs of defence.

But this crime of Pakistan has been completely overlooked by her supporters. Instead, India who complained of the aggression, has been put in the dock.

Today after many weary mediations by UNCIP, by individual mediators like Dixon and Graham, we remain where we were in 1947 with the vital difference that in the meanwhile Pakistan has attained military parity with (or even superiority to) India through American military aid to her, given regardless of its injury to the balance of power in the area. This American Aid has made Pakistan truculent to India. For the last two months and more, Pakistani armed forces have been raiding into the Indian border in Assam and West Bengal. They have set up bunkers and dug trenches and are deploying their forces along the borders in a menacing way. India's Defence Minister V. K. Krishna Menon has expressed his opinion publicly that all this may be to *probe* Indian defences and to provoke us to repel the intruders which may immediately be proclaimed to be India's aggression!

America has stipulated that her arms supplies should not be used for aggression. But of course this prohibition does not apply for *defence*. Indian leaders should have known that in history aggressors always try to put the wrong on the defenders. Innocence of aggressive intentions on the part of enemies will not save any nation, however righteous, from defeat, annihilation and slavery.

And the world will believe more in the propaganda of Pakistan, supported as it is (and will be) by Britain and America, for they are allies in the Baghdad and SEATO alliances.

## INDIA'S SILENCE IS INEXPLICABLE

It is incredible why India is not publicising the atrocities of Pakistan against Indian borders. Perhaps by this time the number of murderous border raids against our nationals has passed the 4000th mark! The world is *not aware* of these outrages against in-

ternational law, so that when Pakistan attacks us some day (not in the distant future) India's case will go by default, and no one will believe us! It is necessary and urgent that India's publicity arrangements should be thoroughly overhauled and a new spirit of painting the wickedness of Pakistan in relation to India (convincingly to all the world) should be adopted. The claim that India's External Minister makes that our prestige is high in the comity of nations is belied signally and decisively, by the attitude of distrust displayed by all the Powers in regard to our claims in Kashmir. The proof of the pudding is in the eating and the Indian pudding has not drawn any appreciation whatever in the matter of action or vocal approval in our favour in the UNO proceedings so far.

Pakistan is making grim preparations for some action against us. The Azad Kashmir chief Chaudhuri Gulam Abbas has announced that he will lead lakhs of volunteers to invade India in Kashmir towards the end of this month (June). The volunteers will be as before, Pathans and Pakistan military disguised as "volunteers"! The example of China in Korea is before us.

The British and Americans will lead public opinion in the world and make it appear that enthusiastic Muslims in Pakistan and the Pathan areas are *naturally* trying to assist the local Kashmiris to throw out the "tyrannical" forces of India holding them in subjection against their will! Our case that Kashmiris have voted for accession to and a common destiny with India and that Sheikh Abdullah does not represent the Kashmiris in this matter is disbelieved, since we do not bring him to open trial.

#### RED HONEYMOON WITH NEW DELHI COOLS OFF

It is also significant that the assurances reported to have been given to Dr. Radhakrishnan by President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles that America will not give bombers to Pakistan are so quickly falsified. For we hear that Pakistan's Generals secured 20 jet bombers from America after this supposed assurance to the Indian representative!

Another significant factor in recent months is the effort that Soviet Russia is making to soften Pakistan's hostility. Russia has offered to set up a steel plant free in Pakistan! She might also offer (in secret) support for her claims in Kashmir! Everything is possible for the machiavellians in the Kremlin. It is understood that the Indian ambassador, Menon in Moscow, has been summoned for remonstrance against Nehru's reference to heads rolling in totalitarian countries for differences of opinion and his criticism of the Indian communist party for changing their message to Tito in response to change in the Russian attitude to him. Russia might like to make India aware of the consequences of offending her. Russia's warning to Tito that Russian aid might be withdrawn is also something that India has to ponder on. So Russia, too, has strings!

In such a situation, with Russia cooling off and showing her teeth in private, Pakistan shooting into our borders for months on end, Gulam Abbas threatening to march his volunteers into Kashmir, America giving further jet bombers to Pakistan and the growing need for Britain and America to appease Muslims still further as a defence against the expansion of

Nasser's empire into Lebanon, India should reconsider her stand on Kashmir.

It is essential to gain time and reconsider our relations to the Great Powers and win their goodwill afresh.

#### INDIA MAY STILL OFFER PLEBISCITE

For this purpose, it is desirable for India to change her policy somewhat in regard to Kashmir. We have not convinced world opinion of the rightness of our new stand refusing plebiscite consequent on endorsement by the Kashmir Constituent Assembly. We may now reiterate our offer of plebiscite on new conditions.

The earlier offer was conditional upon Pakistan withdrawing her military forces entirely from the areas illegally occupied by her. She must also disband the "local forces" she has created out of Kashmir inhabitants contrary to her acceptance of the UNCIP resolutions. This is but the beginning.

Under the terms of the new offer we are proposing, the plebiscite will be held *only in the Kashmir Valley* which has the largest Muslim population in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Jammu and Ladakh where Hindu and Buddhist populations are in the majority will be excluded from the offer. They will be absorbed into Indian territory forthwith. They want nothing better. This is the only settlement that secures their future destiny.

The plebiscite will be offered only if Pakistan fulfils further necessary conditions. First of all, she must return all that she owes to India in the matter of the distribution of the national debt of which India had paid Rs. 200 crores out of her generosity on condition of Pakistan returning it in instalments. We have not received a single instalment so far! There was talk of the first instalment being included for payment in Pakistan budget last year. It is not known whether it was actually paid at all.

India should inform the whole world of *all the dues* on several counts that Pakistan owes her. Our publicity on this matter is culpably weak. We do not get the credit due to us legitimately for all the sacrifices we make under Pandit Nehru's leadership to bolster Pakistan. This self-effacement should cease.

#### PAK'S TREATMENT OF MINORITIES

*There is another grave matter which should be settled before we reopen the question of plebiscite in Kashmir. And that is the culpable breach of faith of which Pakistan is guilty when she drove out practically the whole of the Hindus in West Pakistan, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province.* She has also driven out the greater part of the Hindus from East Pakistan under conditions of barbarity of which there is no awareness in the outside world. Pakistan can break all the laws of humanity and decency with impunity, because the great Powers are not concerned with morality or culture but only their own supreme national interests.

India should bring this matter before the bar of world opinion through all channels available—diplomatic, world press and the UNO. It is not clear why India should not send out outstanding speakers abroad on lecture tours to present her point of view on Kashmir and other subjects. The British have always made use of their distinguished savants and other prominent people to influence American opinion. The

idea of an Indian lobby in America has had the support of such eminent Americans as Chester Bowles and Cooper.

The Security Council named the committee it appointed to go into the Kashmir dispute the UNCIP i.e. the United Nations Committee not merely for Kashmir affairs but for all disputes or relations between Pakistan and India. Did it envisage by clairvoyance as it were, *all* the later differences that arose since 1947? Or was it the intention of certain Big Powers to foster such contentions between India and Pakistan all along the line, in every possible contact between them? Well, anyhow the challenge implied in this wholesale conflict should be accepted, since history has proved that the two peoples, Hindu and Muslim, especially when organised in nation-states of the modern type have no chance of amicable settlement, and can look forward only to a future of perpetual conflict between them. To expect otherwise and to give expression to unilateral goodwill as Indian leaders do is the height of unwisdom.

#### THE TWO-NATION THEORY

Also, India should reopen the whole theoretical basis which is described as "one nation" and "two nation" theories on which the country was partitioned to give a national home to Muslims by the name of Pakistan. Pakistan has insisted on the "two nation" theory, and has resisted all approaches on our part to foster good relations and to continue as if her people and ours were still capable of friendship if not of common citizenship. *The experiment has failed.* We have every right therefore to take Pakistan at her word and to hold her strictly to the implications of the "two nation" theory that she has acted up to. That would mean that all the Muslims in the sub-continent belong to one nation, and that the Muslims left behind in India cannot assimilate themselves to Indian citizenship in any foreseeable future. They will remain as aliens in India and so *pari passu* Hindus in Pakistan. But most of the Hindus in Pakistan have been driven out, contrary to the mutual understanding arrived at or expected unilaterally at the time of Partition. It is relevant to the dispute between India and Pakistan to draw up a balance sheet of the losses and gains issuing on either side since Partition, contrary to expectations of goodwill and contrary to international law. It will be seen how deep and dark has been the consistently hostile behaviour of Pakistan towards us. She has taken advantage of every concession we gave and repaid it with further acts of hostility and accentuation of world-wide propaganda against us compact of falsity and distortion.

*So now let us accept the "two nation" theory so dear to Pakistan and ask her to accept the entire Muslim population of India in exchange for entire Hindu population still left behind in the hostile neighbour State!*

Also, as an integral part of this transaction, let us calculate the losses incurred by the uprooted people on either side, set them against each other, and claim the balance in hard cash, since it will be overwhelmingly in our favour. *If Pakistan is unwilling or unable to pay cash, being a near bankrupt country, we should urge world public opinion to see the logic and justice of our claims against Pakistan.* The property of all emigrants from Pakistan from the days of Partition, both from East and West, should be calculated with the help of an impartial international

commission of economists and practical men of business. It should be set off against that of Muslims, who have left India. The way in which this duty has been shirked by Indian leaders is a great blot on their statesmanship. They have shown the white feather in every such matter where the interests of our people have been concerned.

Pakistan has been making such a great noise about the injustice that India is supposed to have done to her in the matter of the canal waters. Here again our Government have been remiss in informing the outside world and even our own nationals as to the rights and wrongs of the canal waters dispute. Nehru spoke in the last session of the Lok Sabha that Pakistan's appetite was whetted for easy money from Uncle India to such an extent as to prompt the raising of the compensation for building her own canals to a thousand crores! The initial error lies in India accepting any legitimacy at all for Pakistan's demand to compensate her waters by reason of Partition. The Partition was demanded by Pakistan and if the borderline established by the Radcliffe Commission left Pakistan only the canals with the headworks in India, India is not responsible for it. Pakistan has to take the results of Partition as part of her destiny.

The Indian Government under Nehru has no right to give away any part of the hard-earned money of our people to foreign States, especially bad neighbours like Pakistan, who are continually sharpening their swords against us and urging their populace to paroxysms of hatred and fury against us.

It is only after the *full balance sheet* of all disputes between us and Pakistan is drawn up and she accepts her obligation to pay our dues on all counts (loans, compensations etc.) that the question of plebiscite in Kashmir arises. Then the new border of the Kashmir Valley should be drawn and accepted by both sides before arrangements for plebiscite are set on foot. We have had bitter experience of Pakistani genocide during the Partition and of the still unsettled claims for the property left behind, moveable in banks and immovable by way of lands and houses and factories.

As even Mr. Jinnah suggested last time, we should arrange for exchange of property and population across the agreed border of the Kashmir Valley under military supervision. It should also be understood that Jammu and Ladakh come to India without the formality of a plebiscite. It is only in the Valley that the proposed plebiscite is to be held.

It is not necessary for admitting the UNO into this matter for supervision. As Mr. Gorwala suggests it can be held under the joint supervision of India and Pakistan.

If the Muslims of the Valley vote for accession to Pakistan as is only likely in spite of all the treasure we have lavished on them and the blood we have shed for their security, *we can let them go and hold on to Jammu and Ladakh.*

Pakistan has a habit of accepting every concession ignoring the conditions she has to observe for taking advantage of it. This time it should be made clear to the whole world that this offer of plebiscite is made subject to the condition that Pakistan settles every dispute with India completely without a remainder, so that we can have peace between us henceforth for all time. This will be a test case for the honesty and *bona fide* character of Pakistan's claims against India.

# Nehru Has Missed His Vocation

By J. K. Dhairyawan

KNOWING the Prime Minister as we do, it was no wonder that the first thing that he did on reaching the Capital after the melodramatic holiday that he had given to himself, was to convene a press conference. During the enforced holiday he must be finding himself as the proverbial fish out of water—no publication of his speeches nor any headlines about him in the newspapers. The obliging gentlemen of the Fourth Estate, who attended the press conference, were all praise and flattery of the Prime Minister. Describing the press conference, the *Times of India* correspondent characterises it as “the most interesting.” Anything and everything that Nehru says and does, is *always* “momentous and epoch-making” to the servile fraternity that constitutes the members of the national press of the country.

We are further told by the amazed and awe-stricken journalists that Nehru condescended to give his “personal philosophy” of life, at the end of the conference. Whether the personal philosophy of Nehru will enlighten any one, is altogether a different matter. However, the obliging press has thought it fit to broadcast it for the benefit of the Indian public. And here are the gems of wisdom that have come from the mouth of our all-wise and omniscient Prime Minister.

When one of the journalists pointed out to him that he was always hesitating and Hamlet-like, Nehru retorted by saying that it was a bad thing to be firm always, and that it leads to dogmatism. He had a dig at the leader-writers of the newspapers, when he stated that “they pontificate on topics without responsibility in respect of which they were not fully informed.” And then patted his own back by saying that he “has lost temper on many an occasion, but he had never lost his nerve.” And he wound up his press conference by advertising his “philosophy of life” by mentioning that he was “an indifferent and an accidental leader.”

## A WHALE OF TRUTH

Consciously or unconsciously, in this last statement of his, Nehru has said a whale of truth that is apparent to any intelligent observer of events in the country for the last 11 years of independence. It is a fact that the Congress came into power by an accident of history, and that independence was NOT WON through non-violence or Gandhian movements of NCO all of which were suppressed, and suppressed successfully, by the British Government. And it is also a greater accident that Nehru found himself pitchforked as the Prime Minister of India that was Bharat. This saddling of Bharat with Nehru as the Prime Minister was more than an accident; it was a great misfortune, as subsequent events have amply proved. To quote again his own words: “I am an Indian by birth, Muslim by culture and tradition, and Hindu by accident”, he was essentially qualified to be the leader of the new State of Pakistan, which the defeatist Congress leadership carved out of India. During the 11 years of independence Nehru has never lost a single opportunity to defend Pakistan, and justify

her actions against India, supplied on a number of occasions, propaganda “ammunition” to Pakistan, minimised and belittled many of Pakistan’s acts of aggression against India, of which Nehru “by accident” happens to be the Prime Minister. That Nehru has missed his proper vocation, or misunderstood his real position as the Prime Minister of India, have been borne out by incidents too numerous to narrate.

Quite recently fresh from his holiday, he complimented the Pakistan Hockey team on their superior qualities, and blamed the Indian athletes for their internal squabbles at the Tokyo meet. It is a wonder where he got the news of the internal squabbles amongst the Indian athletes and how he completely ignored the misbehaviour of Japanese umpiring of a number of matches against the Indian teams at Tokyo which have appeared in all newspapers. Speaking of the hockey match, which Pakistan won on points and NOT on goals, it has been well known that that there was rough and rowdy behaviour of the Pakistani players, which resulted in injuries to SIX Indian players. It is on record that the captain of the Indian team has registered a protest, and many of the injuries sustained by the Indian hockey players were deliberate acts of mischief and roughness not expected of any person worthy to be called a sportsman. And yet here is our Prime Minister of India going out of his way to hand a bouquet to the Pakistan team that has, by all standards of sports, disgraced themselves.

## NOT A SOLITARY INCIDENT

And the hockey match was not a solitary incident during the Asian Games at Tokyo where Pakistan players have exhibited their political bias and hatred against Hindu India. It was the same exhibition of Islamic fanaticism and unsportsmanship during the volley-ball match between Iran and India. The Indian captain of the volley-ball team had openly expressed his opinion that the Pakistani referee was partial towards Iran and inimical towards India. The reason is not far to seek. Iran had trounced Pakistan and Pakistan did not want India to win against Iran, because Iran happens to be an “Islamic” country. That is the Islamic logic, even in sports.

Again during the boxing bouts, Indian captain, Wing Commander Satyanathan, has openly criticised the supervising of the boxing bouts. He has put on record . . . . it seems a pity that fairness to be meted out to boxers has been made subservient to other considerations and to POLITICS”. Satyanathan is reported to have quoted a former world champion Shirai who had witnessed the bouts of Sunder Rao and Hari Singh as saying that he had no doubt that the INDIANS HAD WON their matches though the decisions had been given against them. The same opinion was expressed by delegations from Burma, the Philippines and Singapore and other countries. And here is our Prime Minister, who was never an eye-witness, and had never read any appreciation of the Pakistani team in any newspapers giving the big hand to them, and at the same time BELITTLING THE

INDIAN team's achievements, which received all round praise from spectators and sportsmen competent to express an opinion. That India secured 5 gold medals and several silver and bronze medals was completely ignored by Nehru.

### CHAMPION OF PAKISTAN

And this is not the first time that the Indian Prime Minister has run to the rescue of Pakistan. As early as the first days of partition when waves after waves of Sikh and Hindu refugees started on their trek to India and there were murders, killings and rape of hundreds of Indians in West Pakistan, naturally as a result there was a reaction and a few hundreds of Muslims were paid in the same coin in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and in East Punjab. Out came our Prime Minister condemning the "genocide" of Muslims in India but he had no answer to the Pakistani barbarity that was responsible for the ugly happenings in the country. Pakistan has always used the words of "our" Prime Minister against India in her propaganda campaign against us. These statements of the Prime Minister were used against India, and specially against the late Mr. Gopal Swami Iyengar, when he represented the Indian case for Kashmir at the UN Security Council. While the question of border incidents on the Assam-Pak frontier was referred to in Parliament, our Prime Minister had the audacity to state that there was tension of nerves on both sides of the border. By implication he meant to convey an impression that incidents have taken place on both sides of the border. Will our Prime Minister care to name a single incident when the Indian Police have violated Pakistani territory, kidnapped Pakistani nationals or looted Pakistani men and materials or indulged in wanton and reckless firing, as the Pakistanis have done on occasions that number over 3000.

Again quite recently at the AICC meeting, without any provocation rhyme or reason, he raked up the question of the "suppression" of the minority rights by the Hindu majority. He talked of their NOT getting fair chance in services and that their language, Urdu, was not receiving just treatment. This was nothing more than strengthening the wild charges of Sheik Abdullah that he was worried as to what would happen to the Muslims of Kashmir after Nehru's death. And was their any substance or an iota of truth in what the Prime Minister said? There are a number of Muslims in high Government posts from the highest Judiciary down to the Police and the Railways. The Constitution has accepted a secular form of government, there is no bar against any religion, sect or community. And yet the Prime Minister, as the self-appointed champion of the Muslims, must indulge in these half-truths or falsehoods. Even in the matter of Urdu where is the injustice? In U.P., Muslims can send petitions in Urdu to the authorities and get their answers in Urdu. There is also provision for the teaching of Urdu at the primary stages, if a minimum number of Muslim children are available and insist on their teaching in Urdu. Again in the Southern State of Andhra, where the regional language is Telugu, Urdu is recognised, simply as a matter of fairplay and justice to the minority of Muslims, since during the days of the Nizam, Urdu was the State language. Can our Prime Minister show such acts of

consideration and justice on the part of Pakistan towards its non-Muslim inhabitants.

The fact of the matter is that all this Hinduphobia on the part of the Prime Minister is entirely due to an aberration in his mind that he is MORE A MUSLIM than a Hindu. That he is tolerated only in Hindu India he very often forgets. If by culture and tradition he states that he is a Muslim, and Hindu only by accident, then naturally the proper place for him is Pakistan and NOT India. Nehru has certainly missed his vocation.

### Corruption In Administration

SAKA in the course of his regular feature "Side-lights", writes as follows in "Swarajya":—

A correspondent has sent me a copy of an interesting advertisement that appeared in the *Hindu* on May 9. In the *Situations Vacant* column:

#### *Situation Vacant*

A Calcutta firm wants a representative in Madras. Persons having influence in the Office of the Director of Supplies, Madras and Southern Railway write to Box No. 1961, c/o the *Hindu* stating terms of appointment desired.

Influence with Government offices has become a recognised business asset. Under the cover of the Socialist pattern, the ruling junta has brought trade, industry and commerce within the official net. Nobody is able to do any sort of business without obtaining some sort of a permit or sanction or licence from somebody in authority in some government office. Those without any influence in these offices are either driven out of business, or forced to curtail it, while their competitors enjoying such influence have an easy walk-over. Government control has meant administration by favour and the favourites have established for themselves a lucrative position as valuable aids of the business community. In the advertisement above . . . we have a significant disclosure of business aspirations for the harvest of corruption.

### Mridula Sarabhai Receives Rs. 85,000 Per Month From Pakistan

In the course of a series of articles entitled "Inside Kashmir" Acharya P.K. Atre writes in the daily *Maratha* of Bombay as follows:—

Right in the capital of Bharat, New Delhi, Mridula Sarabhai, an Indian woman by birth, has been openly carrying on seditious and treasonable activities in support of her friend and admirer, Sheikh Abdullah. She has been receiving Rs. 85,000 per month for this anti-Indian propaganda from Pakistan sources and her house has been the asylum of Pakistani spies and agents. It is amazing that all these things that take place right in the capital are either not known to the Government or the Government are winking at these treasonable activities of Mridula. In any other country such a treacherous woman would have been sent to the gallows.

When we journalists happened to meet the Defence Minister Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in Kashmir and asked him: "How long are the Government going to tolerate these treasonable activities of Mridula?", Mr. Menon gave an evasive reply. There was no straight answer to the question.

# WHAT NEXT IN FRANCE?

By T. L. Kantam

**T**HE events in France during the past three weeks have been aptly described as a "hesitant and reluctant revolution". The world, which was watching these events with the greatest anxiety, heaved a sigh of relief when the revolution was effected within the legal framework and without plunging the country into civil war.

## A LITTLE OF FRENCH HISTORY

But the people of France seemed little perturbed, probably because they are familiar with such political turmoils.

During the 169 years since the French Revolution, France has had four Republics, two Empires and a war-time "dictatorship".

The First Republic was established in 1792, three years after the Revolution and lasted till 1804 when Napoleon Bonaparte became Emperor. In 1814 the restoration of the Bourbons brought Louis XVIII to the throne and the First Empire continued till 1848.

A popular uprising supported by the army overthrew the Crown in 1848 and Prince Louis Napoleon was selected President of the Second Republic. Three years later, he suddenly dissolved the legislature and ordered a plebiscite which conferred on him the title and powers of an Emperor.

The Second Empire fell before the onslaught of the German army in 1870 and gave place to the Third Republic, which survived several crises until the German troops once again brought about the downfall of the government in 1940. During the war years, Marshal Petain assumed "dictatorial" authority but could exercise only such powers as the Germans permitted him.

## AFTER THE WAR

After the armistice, General Charles Andre Joseph Marie de Gaulle—to give him his full name—as head of the Free French, was in authority until his resignation on January 20, 1946. Six days later, the first elected post-war Premier Felix Gouin took office. In the very first year of the Fourth Republic, there were three Premiers—Gouin, Georges Bidault and Leon Blum. To Blum must go the credit of forming the only single-party ministry in modern French history but it lasted only six weeks. Paul Ramadier formed three governments himself in 1947 and had to give place before the year was over to Robert Schuman.

## GOVERNMENTS COME AND GO

Governments continued to be based on coalitions because no party could command an absolute majority but the coalitions themselves were ephemeral. The larger groups and minor sections often joined in loose and temporary coalitions for the purpose of forming ministries. The loyalties which held them together were slender and liable to snap at the least provocation.

Thus governments came and went. Pflimlin, who gave place to de Gaulle being the 25th post-war Premier.

## CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

In the referendum held in October 1946 on the draft constitution of the Fourth Republic, only 36 per cent of the electorate voted approval but as there were more votes for than against—9,120,576 for 7,980,333 against—it became law. Thirty-two per cent abstained from voting. It evoked little enthusiasm from the country in general and was accepted like that of 1875 as "the form of government that divided Frenchmen least".

Politicians continually pointed out that a constitution which gave the National Assembly the power to dismiss a government but no responsibility for its actions would lead to a national crisis. For 30 years, Rene Coty who played a crucial role in the present crisis, has been urging his country to strengthen and stabilize its government by constitutional reforms. On November 30, 1955, in an attempt to shock French legislators into sensibility, he joined the majority of the cabinet of Premier Edgar Faure to dissolve the National Assembly. This was done under a constitutional provision, used only once before in 1877, allowing such dissolution whenever two cabinets have been overthrown by a majority of more than half the full Assembly membership within 18 months. But the French Assembly elected in January 1956 showed no inclination to change its old practices.

De Gaulle was understood to favour a constitution for France similar to that of the United States but in a statement last Tuesday it was announced that he had given up such an idea and that his reforms would be within the Republican framework. The function of government was to govern, he said and that of parliament was to make laws.

## ALGERIA IS THE KEY

It is significant that the first act of de Gaulle after Parliament voted him, special powers was to visit Algeria. Algeria holds the key to the solution of France's many pressing problems. The different groups in Algeria which supported de Gaulle had different ideas of an Algerian settlement.

Ferhat Abbas, the Algerian rebel leader, who lives in exile in Montreux said that de Gaulle could put an end to the coalition of special interests and "inaugurate a new era of egalitarian co-operation" with the Moslem population in Algeria. He repeated earlier demands for a cease-fire and negotiations "Within the framework of an independent Algeria". He added "I cannot forget that those who now call for de Gaulle are the same people who decried and insulted him at the time he was fighting for French liberty. We are confronted by a mystery. Is de Gaulle going to convert the ultra-colonialists or will they convert de Gaulle?" What kind of a settlement de Gaulle might

# NEHRU'S FOLLIES

By M. N. Tholal

**W**HAT is wrong with Nehru? Now that his dictatorship over the Congress is coming to an end, one is tempted to strike a balance sheet of his dictatorial regime and seek the reasons for its failure.

Every one knows that he is highly emotional, but few care to analyse what it means. For my part I must confess that I have not had to come to the conclusions I did by way of analysis. I saw them with my eyes open in Mr. Nehru!

We are all susceptible to flattery, but those of us who are highly emotional are swept away by it. Loyalty, assumed or real, and flattery go together in politics. If you are my man, says Nehru in effect, I am yours. *Ham bhaktan ke bhakt hamare*, says a Hindi song. Where emotions are strong, the faculty of criticism is dormant, particularly in dealing with those who rouse emotions. Where the faculty of criticism is in abeyance, there is no limit to the folly one can indulge in. Every one knows follies are committed only in emotional states.

## IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF GANDHI

Nehru learnt from Gandhi the art of being extra polite, and courteous to Muslims and Christians. Much could be said for a show of special solicitude for them in the days of British rule. They were not known for their patriotism, and they had to be won over. What was a virtue in subject India became a vice in free India. Patel realised it, and changed accordingly. Not so Nehru, and we are paying for his folly in Kerala, Punjab and elsewhere. Should not traitors be made to fear the power of the State?

What is the basis of groupism, casteism and communalism? When Nehru rewards his personal followers from Dhebar downwards, or members of his own caste and community, he indulges in groupism or casteism or communalism. No one has done so to the extent he has, not because he is worse than others, but because he has much more power

(Continued from page 10)

achieve in Algeria is the big question. It is likely that he will have to face the same dilemma as his predecessors in arriving at a compromise solution of the thorny Algerian problem.

## "AUSTERE FRANCE"

De Gaulle's plans for the rehabilitation of France would include a drastic reform of her national finances and national economy to enable the country to balance its foreign payments without outside help. He would insist on economic austerity but "austere France" is a contradiction in terms.

De Gaulle's coming to power is regarded by many as not an unmixed blessing but that it was inevitable in the circumstances and that it put a stop to the Fourth Republic's decay. Let us hope that under this dedicated man, France will come into her rightful place in the comity of nations.

than others. For him to condemn groupism and casteism and communalism is like scratching where it itches. Every one knows that now, particularly every Congressman.

## HIS VICE

He knows his own vice, emotionalism. And in his vanity he has been trying to make a virtue of it. After all, what is the difference between a wise person and a fool? The former is mainly intellectual, the latter mainly emotional. Can any one deny it? Nehru may talk any amount of nonsense about emotional integration, but he cannot alter basic psychological truths, although he has been trying to do so in his megalomanias, to the great detriment of the country. The parting of the ways between the Ali Brothers and Mahatma Gandhi, and more recently between Sheikh Abdullah and Nehru were advertisements of the failure of emotional integration.

We have been free these ten years and more, and Mr. Nehru still considers it almost an honour—and makes it evident too—to shake hands with a Maulana, a Sikh of the Tara Singh variety or a Christian. Every one knows that Tara Singh stood for long for a Sikh state; many maintain he has not given it up in his heart of hearts. Nehru garlanded him publicly. Very clever of him, say Congressmen. All right. He won him over. But what was the harm in seeing Mr. Gupta, the leader of the Hindi movement, and a Congress leader of forty years standing, even as he sees Master Tara Singh or Maulanas of the Jamiatul Ulema? Are Arya Samajists traitors to the country? In their patriotism they may be too zealous, but since when has zeal in patriotism become a crime, or at any rate, something to be discouraged ostentatiously?

## WHAT IS WRONG WITH HINDUISM?

Or, to come down to brass tacks, what is wrong with Hinduism? It is the only democratic faith in the world, placing supremacy of the conscience above all. It is the only faith that permits freedom of belief. *What is to become of a country whose Prime Minister punts traitors or their fellow-travellers on the back and shuns the company of honest patriots?*

In the resounding defeat of the Congress candidate for the Lok Sabha from the Gurgaon constituency by an Arya Samajist we have seen the result of Nehru's cleverness. The Arya Samaj today is not a narrow sect. It is the spearhead of Hindu nationalism, and Nehru is ignoring and slighting it at his peril, and at the peril of the Congress Party. *It is a force to be reckoned with. That is the lesson of the Gurgaon by-election.*

"The cow is equal to the horse," says Nehru. All right. Is he prepared to make similar comments on Muslim and Christian superstition? Has he ever done so? The obvious inference is that he is deliberately trying to be partial to the minorities. What else is communalism if not partiality for certain communities?

Have a look at Kerala. Who put the Communists in power there? Who backed Christian fanatics in

preference to Nationalist Hindus? Nehru. And the result. Nationalist Hindus voted Communist. Could any one have done greater harm to the country, or to the cause of nationalism?

I have known Nehru now for nearly four decades. He seems to think that in order to be a nationalist he has to be recognised as such by the fanatics among Muslims and Christians and Sikhs. The idea is born of inferiority-complex, of which he is full, from top to toe. But no one can blame him for it, for inferiority-complex is the inevitable result of emotional and wishful thinking, because the latter is always misleading. Justice is out of the question where such notions prevail, and where a man's nationalism cannot stand on its own feet.

Like Nehru I am an atheist. As an atheist I hate fanatics. An atheist who does not hate fanatics is no atheist at all. He is an impostor or he is trying to be clever. Mr. Nehru has yet to learn that in politics honesty is the best policy. You cannot fool all people all the time. *Mr. Nehru fooled Congressmen for a decade. Now they know.*

He scored out the names of old, tried and trusted Congressmen from the list of candidates for the Delhi Corporation elections, and put instead the names of henchmen of his henchmen—worthless creatures. What was the result? They all turned against Congress, the old tried Congressmen, Gandhis of their localities and joined Sangh and beat Nehru's nominees. The meanest worm will turn if trodden on. And they

turned. And Mr. Nehru, to hide his discomfiture, threatened to retire. The threat, at least, made Congressmen change their topic of conversation which was Nehru's folly resulting in the Congress debacle in Corporation election. That must have been one of the aims of the threat.

#### A SLAP TO NEHRU

What Nehru has to do is not to threaten retirement, again and again, and make a laughing stock of himself. People who are always trying to reduce others to zero, by hook or crook, do not do so to retire from positions of power. What he has to do is to develop a sense of justice. Can he do so? Can a man so highly emotional as Nehru, develop a sense of justice to such an extent as to make it the criterion of his decisions? Can he do that at this time of his life? Can any one change radically in old age? Highly emotional beings are like people suffering from hysteria. They must indulge in their fits.

But Mr. Nehru knows that for him it is not now a question of retirement. Nehru the election winner has become the election loser. Congressmen who made him their dictator for the sake of power will throw him out for the sake of power if he does not reform himself. That is the law of power politics, and there is no generosity in politics. The Congress decision to decentralise is a slap on Nehru's face and a step towards self-preservation.

## The March Of Science

### HARNESSING HYDROGEN EXPLOSIONS FOR POWER

William L. Laurance writes in *The New York Times*:

Physicists gathered last week for the annual meeting of the American Physical Society in Washington, heard official reports on apparatus and techniques for taming the power of the hydrogen bomb that might have come out of a modern version of "Alice in Wonderland." They heard about experiments designed to create on earth temperatures of a billion degrees, fifty times the temperature in the interior of the sun. They were told about new designs of "magnetic bottles" enclosing powerful "magnetic mirrors" from which electrified hydrogen gas at billion-degree temperatures will be made to bounce back and forth without ever touching the walls of the vessel containing it.

They were taken behind the scenes for reports on hitherto secret "artificial stars" named Stellarators, being designed to reproduce on earth the phenomena occurring in the powerhouse of the cosmos. And they listened to the outline of a startling new hydrogen-power plant that would generate electrical fusion power equal to 9 per cent of the power produced annually in the United States.

#### MAGNETIC BOTTLE

Prof. Lyman Spitzer Jr. of Princeton University, Dr. Richard F. Post of the University of California Radiation Laboratory and Dr. Albert Simon of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory presented reports on the latest designs of what has become known as a "mag-

netic bottle." This is a revolutionary device in which hydrogen gas of the heavy variety, named deuterium, is to be heated by electricity to many millions of degrees, and kept confined by magnetic lines of force in a narrow beam inside the vessel containing it, without bouncing into the walls of the container. Reports on preliminary magnetic bottle designs and experiments were made last January by British and American scientists; the data last week referred to later developments.

The trouble is that all the magnetic bottles designed so far have sprung "leaks."

One of the latest of these new types of magnetic bottles, called a magnetic "mirror machine," a heretofore secret device, was described by Dr Post.

In its simplest form, the "mirror machine" consists of a long straight tube, surrounded by coils of wire which produce a magnetic field inside the tube. In the centre part of the tube the coils produce a uniform magnetic field, so that the magnetic field lines resemble a bundle of straight rods lying parallel to the walls of the chamber.

However, at either end of the tube the currents in the coils are made much stronger than average so that the magnetic field is correspondingly stronger. These regions of stronger-than-average fields are the "magnetic mirrors." At these regions the magnetic field lines gather together into a tighter bundle (since the field is stronger) so that the pattern of the field lines between the two mirrors has the general shape of an elongated football. The "magnetic bottle" of the "mirror machine" thus really looks like a two-ended wine bottle, with the "magnetic mirrors" defining the bottlenecks at either end.

# Need Of A New Party NOW

By C. Rajagopalachari

**T**HE political organisation that successfully fought the British power in India was at the close of that struggle put in power by the latter. The British Parliament not only acknowledged the independence of India but transferred the reins of executive authority to the Congress Party to start with. This Party continues to govern the affairs of the country after ten years of that event.

It is well known or, to use the safer journalistic phrase, it cannot be denied that there is considerable searching of heart at the present moment among the leaders of the Indian National Congress. All is not well, it is felt, but no remedy has been found that meets the situation, and consequently the customary attitude in similar situations in the case of individual sickness is adopted, to say that there is nothing very serious to worry about.

## PUBLIC TREATED LIKE CHILDREN

It is for anyone, and much more so for one who has spent the best part of his lifetime serving the organization and who owes many honours and kindnesses to it, an undertaking of some degree of delicacy to examine into the cause of the present discontent about the Congress. If he avoids vagueness and visionary language and touches the true roots of the malady, he may "come near to persons of weight and consequence who will rather be exasperated at the discovery of their errors than be thankful for the occasion of correcting them. But in all exertions of duty something is to be hazarded." I have found the words in the writings of one of the greatest political philosophers of modern times and in that mood I venture.

As a result of tacit submission on the part of the people of emancipated India, a few good persons at the top enjoying prestige and power are acting like guardians of docile children rather than as leaders in a parliamentary democracy. Mutual encouragement has led to this condition of affairs. Men in a state amounting to tutelage have no chance to develop towards maturity.

## PARROT CULTURE

This was Milton's emphatic opinion and it is as true today as in the days of Cromwell and is as true in one country as in another. Although men are 'fallen', to use the poet's expression, they retain enough of the original gift of God to grow towards freedom. But a chance must be given to them to discover the precious gift that lies hidden within themselves. The sort of tutelage that now prevails gives no such chance.

No theory of civil life, no 'ism' will work satisfactorily unless the citizens in the democracy are willing to undertake the responsibility of thinking and judging for themselves. This willingness, and by desuetude the capacity also, are rapidly decreasing. Instead of independent thinking and free judgement, the manners of parrots have been growing among men, even

among those rightly credited with intellectual capacity of a high order. They repeat the words uttered by the established guardians without paying thought to the meaning and the implications. I am not objecting to any particular opinion but to the parrot culture that has seized the country.

## NO DISCUSSION OF SOCIALISM

For instance, there is more than one road to national welfare. The Welfare State was the first formula adopted by the leaders; it was soon followed by the "Socialistic pattern", and then came the Socialist State.

Did people who successively re-uttered these phrases follow the various meanings of the various phrases? Has there been any known public or even private discussion of the merits of the various ideals connoted by these terms?

Do men and women who repeat the word "Socialism", as a name for what is claimed to be the straight way leading to welfare, remember what Gandhiji said about it—Gandhiji whom they profess not only to admire but also to follow in all things? Do people who now accept National Socialism do so after having considered and rejected the doctrine of trusteeship which Gandhiji told his disciples was his way and was preferable to the egalitarianism of the Socialists and the interference by law with ownership of property and its traditional incidents and obligations which Socialism meant?

## HAVE WE THOUGHT?

Have men thought about the matter and all its consequences, including the concentration of all economic power and influence in those who for the time being wield authority? Have they even thought about whether the management of things by men is likely to be carried out better when they have a proportionate interest in their good stewardship and in its results or when they do it on salaries and on behalf of the State? Or has Socialism been adopted only as parrots learn to speak?

This is only an instance. What I plead for is a climate of independent thinking among citizens. It is no good imagining it is there when we see no sign or symptom of it. Without this essential accompaniment, self-government through democracy will prove itself to be a house of cards.

The reason for a gradual collapse of independent thinking is the confusion in the people's minds between a political struggle against foreign domination and its discipline, and day-to-day government—between revolution and administration. The figures of speech employed in appeals and manifestoes—oral and written—encourage this confusion between rabble and government and between the respective disciplines required for them.

The long regime of popular favourites without any significant opposition is probably the main cause for

the collapse of independent thinking. "You have not gone far enough", "You do not mean what you say", these are the only criticisms that some people venture to offer. No one dares to say "your policy is wrong and must be re-examined". The opposition is at best a charge of inefficiency in carrying out policy or a suspicion of insincerity. There is no attack on the policy itself.

Democratic civil life calls for independent thinking among the citizens—among the governed as among the governors. Criticism and reply and counter-reply make for hell in the air. Diseases of corruption and intrigue are by a process of natural hygiene driven out in such an atmosphere. Burke said he liked 'clamour'. "I am not of the opinion," he said, "of those gentlemen who are against disturbing the public repose. The firebell at midnight might disturb your sleep, but it keeps you from being burnt in your bed."

### AN OPPOSITION

If subverscience and slavish adulation take the place of independent thinking, and criticism is never resorted to but with fear and trepidation, the atmosphere quickly breeds the political diseases peculiar to democracy. If we have not the free and critical atmosphere of a well-balanced democracy, a Welfare State is most favourable soil for the growth of the weeds of careerism, intrigue and various types and degrees of dishonesty.

An opposition is the natural preventive for such poisonous weeds. An opposition is, therefore, the urgent remedy indicated by the symptoms—not mere psycho-therapy. "You are all right. Indeed you are better than you were. Don't believe you are sick. You are not sick!"—this cannot restore a fractured leg.

We need an opposition that thinks differently and does not just want more of the same; a group of vigorously thinking citizens which aims at the general welfare, and not one that in order to get more votes from the so-called have-nots, offers more to them than the party in power has given, an opposition that appeals to reason and acts on the firm faith that India can be governed well as a democratic republic, and that the have-nots will not reject sound reason.

It is not the quality of true faith in democracy to fear that truth will not succeed with the electors. What will lead to permanent welfare the voters will accept, if not at once, at least in course of time. We must have the faith that they will see through the corrupt offers of immediate gains at the cost of injury to the general welfare. On such faith an opposition should come into being that will set a proper balance to the authority of the party in power and put our free commonwealth on its two feet.

Such an opposition, even if it should not succeed in ousting a powerful majority from its seat, may at least see that its power is not absolute power, which corrupts absolutely, but something controlled, so that the evils that flow from power may be kept within limits.

Some people, frightened by the hopeless prospect of bidding against a Socialist Government for the favour of the have-nots, believe that the only course open is to wait for the fading away of the Congress by reason of its own weaknesses and diseases, and then to form a new political party on right lines.

This cannot be done. No party can issue out of chaos except one backed by physical force and terrorism.

If we desire a parliamentary party to come into being for steadying the machinery of government, it must be accomplished when the government is running under Congress rule. It would be fatal to wait for its disintegration, which will result only in rule by force.

— By courtesy of *Swarajya*

### In The Nehru Age— No Shivaji But Many Aurangzeb

By M. Reddy

I was not surprised but shocked when I read Mr. Nehru's speech at the Congress party meeting saying that Hindu communalism was increasing and that Urdu was not given a proper place, etc. and etc. I am sure that not a single Hindu would mind if Mr. Nehru becomes Sheikh Jamal-uddin. How long will he keep the Hindus in darkness by unveiling the statue of Chattrapati Shivaji or repeating "panchashela" in the name of poor Bapuji?

In this Nehru age no one is Shivaji, on the contrary there are so many Aurangzeb from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. About Kashmir every one knows. As far as Delhi is concerned it is for him to answer who is Shenshah Alamgir Aurangzebe — not I mean in the names of roads. In Hyderabad (Deccan) no less than in Hyderabad (Sindh) is the revival of the Ittehad-ul Mussalmeen. From Kanyakumari to Madras the old Muslim League is clubbed with the Congress, and the Madras Muslim League is planning to establish branches in Hyderabad on the old foundations of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen.

Why is Mr. Nehru so bothered about Urdu after accepting the reorganisation of the States on the basis of regional languages? All other people residing in Maharashtra are learning Marathi; all "other" people residing in Andhra Pradesh are learning Telugu, then why this communal business of Urdu and resurrecting the old Hindu-Muslim feud? After the reorganisation of the States, people are either Maharashtrians or Andhras, Kannadigas or Bengalis, there is no question of being a Hindu or a Muslim, more so in the so-called secular India. Why then is Panditji reviving communalism in linguism? Why this "divide and rule" policy? And how long can one individual yoke the Nation to his whims and fancies?



Courtesy: *Filmindia*

# INDIA—A WELFARE OR AN ILL-FARE STATE?

By Prof. G. N. Lawande, M.A.

**A**FTER Independence, the ruling party, namely, the Congress, declared its objective to be the establishment of a Welfare State for our country. It was at the Nasik Congress the attainment of a Welfare State was proclaimed as the end of economic policy. But it is imperative to know what exactly is a Welfare State, and what is its significance for the individual citizen. One must also know how it affects the choice between planning and free economy and between Government and private ownership. The idea of Welfare State has captured the minds of many people, and all the parties have a common desire to pay a lip service to its alleged virtues, and also "a common disinclination to face the historical fact that reaches its distorted apotheosis in a servile state. A welfare state cannot function in freedom and must enforce its phoney alleged benefits and its spurious security by progressive instalments of totalitarian compulsions and conscription". Simply calling a State a "welfare" state does not make it one. The correct definition of welfare state is a state that is genuinely dedicated to the *general welfare*. A really full fledged welfare state, based on socialist pattern of society, *does not contribute to the general welfare*; it spends government money faster than the production of the economy justifies. This, in other words, means an unbalanced budget, credit expansion, unsound wage and price policies, and in the long run a slowing down of production, because people are trying to get something for nothing, instead of working for it. *When this happens the Welfare State becomes a dangerous enemy of the people and makes quite impossible a general state of welfare. It then turns only to be an ill-fare state.*

## THE "GRAND FICTION" OF WELFARE STATE

Fear of unemployment and a vague conception of security are the driving force of the Welfare State, but the working of the Welfare State in the postwar period has produced disillusion and disappointment in Europe and the strong advocates like Prof. Pigou and Lord Beveridge have crossed over into the camp of disillusioned sceptics. It was the extreme individualism which is to blame for the present development of the Welfare State. Far from providing an effective cure for the economic malaise, the Welfare State merely soothes a few of the symptoms and the price we pay is that of allowing sickness itself to grow worse and it becomes incurable. If the Welfare State makes its business to distribute welfare and security in all directions, it must degenerate into an institution, which is morally rotten and which must destroy itself finally. It will be, as Prof. Bastiat said, "the grand fiction by which everybody lives at the expense

of everybody". It will justify Dean Inge who defined politics as the art of taking money out of the pockets of the opposite side's supporters and putting it into the pockets of one's own supporters and living by this art. One of the attractions of the Welfare State is that it temporarily offers privileged sections of the community a short life and gay one at the expense of other people. It acts as a centre of gravity for the concentration of power and it gives countless opportunities for exploiting an alchemy that eventually transmutes political power into an "absolute power that corrupts absolutely."

## WELFARE STATE IS A DIRECT ATTACK ON LIBERTY

Socialists believe that the achievements of the Welfare State are spectacular, but with regret one must say that the profit and loss account tells a sadder story. It was believed that the Welfare State would be an earthly paradise but it has proved to be a Hell. It tried to care only for men's body by being indifferent to the character of the people and in this it was sowing its own seed of destruction. The "Welfare" State has not given real security and social contentment. Its very foundations rest on shaky economic sands and it is our misfortune to see it crumbling before our own eyes. The "Welfare" State is the breeding ground of bureaucracy. It corrupts the body politic, destroys public moral and vitiates morality. It is a financial monstrosity. Morale and morality are jeopardised when the community as a whole engages itself in a competitive struggle to snatch something for nothing. "Truth, honesty, pride, self-reliance, ambition, independence and these other qualities of human character and conduct cannot live in the atmosphere of state valetudenarianism." No sensible person objects to the welfare state, provided it is really a welfare state and not just disguise for measures designed to destroy freedom. Without freedom the soul of man withers and dies. Free gifts are no substitutes for freedom. They are not free because State has fished in the deep waters of taxpayer's money. Socialism on which the "Welfare" State is based is a direct attack on individual liberty. We have been promised by Socialists freedom from worry, fear and want, indeed, as many freedoms as docile mind can envisage, but the one freedom that the State will not voluntarily grant is the freedom of the individual from the State itself. *The "Welfare" State knows very well that both Statism and Liberty are incompatible.* Freedom is indivisible, but it is assumed that it can be cut into slices like a cake. Socialism is centralisation, regimentation, direction, compulsion, and conscription. Socialists attack private property, but one has to dig very deeply to uncover

the real objective of this aspect of Socialism. The confiscation and destruction of private property are only means to an end. *The real objective is the destruction of liberty and as the institution of private property is indissolubly linked with liberty it follows automatically that effective attack on either weakens and finally destroys both.* The "Haves" are paralysed and "Have-Nots" are hypnotised." The central struggle of our time is that of freedom against regimentation. One thing we must fear is the decay of freedom through our neglect. Despotism, whatever its guise, developed when men were losing faith in themselves and gave up, bit by bit, their own responsibilities to a central authority. By every step we take towards making the State caretaker of our lives by that much we move towards making the State our master (Eisenhower).

### A NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY

"Welfare" State rots society. It destroys the virtues and fighting spirit of mankind. Free competition is the only economic system that is compatible with freedom. Capitalism and democracy are practically synonymous concepts in their social meaning and are like Siamese twins in practice. Capitalist enterprise cannot live without democracy; democracy cannot live without capitalism. "Welfare" State is the negation of democracy. Our leaders have to know the fact that democracy and Welfare State are incompatible and earlier they realise this truth, better it is for the country as a whole. America has grown up as a free country because it believed from the outset in private enterprise, competition and individualism. Many other states have succumbed to economic regimentation and thus inevitably sacrificed their political liberties. The non-socialist market economy is a process which is made up of innumerable voluntary economic actions of individuals. The market regulates these actions and gives all participants directives for the adjustment of production to the wants of the consumers. Obedience to these directions is rewarded; disobedience is punished in the most extreme case with bankruptcy. Socialism or Welfare State means that the democratic master, namely market, is replaced by the autocratic master or ruler, namely "State". Socialism goes hand in hand with a thoroughly authoritarian system of government. No State can be powerful in the economic sphere without being autocratic in the political domain. Man wanted to make the State their Heaven, but it has turned into Hell. Socialism wants to crown the work of emancipation, yet can result in nothing but the most abject subjugation of the individual. Socialism means that the autonomy of the economic will is suspended and replaced by the order from above. As decisions are taken not in the market but in the office of the government agency they become "politicalised" "Everything which belonged to economic sphere of private enterprise and private law is now transformed into something political; market becomes a government agency; every purchase becomes a state transaction; private law becomes a public law; price mechanism is controlled by laws; competition becomes the struggle for influence and power in the state for party offices and government jobs; the supply of raw materials becomes a question of political spheres of influence; property becomes the concept of state sovereignty; business decisions are turned into govern-

mental acts sanctioned by penal laws; foreign currency transactions become capital offences." -Can any one say that millions of decisions of individuals are based on democratic principles and that the sphere of individual liberty is safeguarded? Decisions what to manufacture are with the Planning Commission which is supposed to be an expert body in planning. This is impossible even in imperfect democratic manner.

Democracy can function only if in all questions of communal life there is practical unanimity. Ideal democracy presupposes that the people are in almost complete agreement on questions of government. But what we find today in our country is quite opposite. Public opinion is flouted and the people are asked to undergo "sacrifice" in order to implement the Plan to increase their welfare in future, because according to our Prime Minister, our Plan is a path to prosperity. Can anyone believe that our country is a democracy? Democracy and Planning are incompatible but we are told again and again that our country is a great democracy and planning is a democratic planning.

A "Welfare" State is born in uncertainty and will die in unfulfilment. It begins its political life on the assumption that most of the citizens are young children who must be fed, clothed, housed, educated, employed and disciplined by paternalistic state. It assumes that all children for most of the time and most of the children for all time will be the victims of the arrested growth. The political life of welfare state will come to an end when children grow up and insist on doing for themselves those things which the State pretends that it *alone* can do for them. Power of the State may grow more rapidly than the growth of children and in these circumstances welfare state will attain full logical maturity in an unchallengable totalitarianism.

### WELFARE STATE IS A FRAUD

Those unfortunate beings who have the chance to see it will find the metamorphosis of a welfare state into a servile state.

Socialists claim that the "welfare" state alone has the merit of granting us social and economic security, but such a security will not function permanently and even if it could do so, it would be as a long term policy, both morally and socially undesirable. The political object of security is to remove from the minds of the people the fear of unemployment. Full employment which is regarded as one of the aims of the Welfare State is in the final analysis a fraud. It is a farce, because as soon as employment is created in one direction, it creates unemployment in the other direction. This is what we find today at present in our country and to add salt to the injury, our ministers well versed in making illogical and irresponsible statements, tell us that their aim is to increase the welfare of the people, raise their standard of life and give them complete freedom. These are empty slogans which do not fill the stomach of the common man. "Welfare" is based upon employment and employment is based upon production. What we find today more and more people are thrown out of employment due to confiscatory pattern of taxation. Unless our production increases, national income cannot increase, and unless national income rises the welfare cannot increase. Welfare State is the prime cause of reducing the productivity of the country. Coercion can always provide full employment, but what it cannot do is to provide us

with a civilized standard of living and the means to enjoy it in the free fresh air of freedom. The real problem is not that there will be 11 millions of jobs by 1961 i.e. by the end of the Second Five Year Plan, but how much shall we produce and what in consequence will be our standard of life? The problem of distribution on which much stress is being laid today and for which confiscatory taxation is imposed upon the people, rich and poor alike, is after all more easily solved, the more there is to distribute. It is this truth that must prevail, if we, in India are to survive. Our national survival depends not on employment *qua* employment, but production *qua* production and given the latter, the former will take care of itself. At present we are suffering from rising prices due to inflation and the people are not even able to get two square meals per day. Is it ever possible under this circumstance to increase their welfare under socialist pattern of society? Certainly not. The only solution to the present economic malaise is the increase in production but this can take place only if the private enterprise is allowed free scope.

### ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION

American Economy is successful at increasing production i.e. in the output per man hour. This is mainly due to economic freedom and to the large measure of free enterprise. West Germany was able to achieve a "miracle" due to economic freedom. God helps those who help themselves. Soon we say farewell to the State welfare and become our own physicians sooner we will achieve emancipation from the State itself. Welfare cannot be increased unless we have economic freedom. Political freedom is meaningless unless we have economic freedom. Economic freedom can be understood in two senses, namely, international field and domestic field. In the international field economic freedom means free trade and free currency exchange and in the domestic field it means freedom to chose your profession and occupation, free competition at all levels, freedom to grow rich or go broke, freedom to make all the profit you can to acquire a fortune and to bequeath or inherit the said fortune.

Economic freedom means private enterprise and the free market as against Statism or socialism or the rugged market. The imposition of checks and controls by Government, especially transference of income from one class of community to another by means of taxation is not only monstrous but also blasphemous and to hope to increase welfare is to cry for the moon. It is the private enterprise and free competition that work for the public good and sooner we realise this and bid farewell to the welfare state our welfare cannot be increased. So the remedy for the present malaise is the free economy and not planning. Von Mises, Hayek and Schumpeter like three witches in Shakespeare's *MACBETH* had predicted that every deviation from free enterprise would propel the free nations irresistibly from capitalism to socialism and from socialism to some sort of police state, and it is our misfortune to see that this prediction has come to pass in our own country. We allowed our leaders to make our country a Heaven and they have turned it into a Hell. It is our "Herculean" blunder to place our destiny in the hands of others. Now we cannot escape the consequence of degradation of our manhood. We have become cyphers in the code of politics and

now we must be prepared to love, obey and honour the State against our own free will. The "Welfare" State presupposes political and economic planning. It also assumes that man can live by bread alone but the loaf is shamelessly poor. The Planning Commission does not realise the fact that its first-class Plans (if at all) produce third class results at first class prices. So welfare state is both socially and economically a national disaster. Socially because man is incited to believe that it is not his own personal responsibility to work out his own destiny and economically because it leads to inflation and bankruptcy. It is parasitical and retrogressive. It produces so many unhappy, frustrated and disgruntled citizens that superintendence and inspectorship become imperative, if good order is to prevail. In a welfare state the rule of law has been defiled and public opinion and sovereignty of the people, the very foundations of democracy, are being superseded by the undemocratic decrees of the ministers. The distinguishing feature of welfare state is universal poverty. It tries to make the weak people strong but as Abraham Lincoln aptly puts it "You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong".

### THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

It is wrongly assumed that the taxation of higher income groups means limitation of expenditure on the part of these groups and what is siphoned off from the purchasing power can be directed to social ends in the lower income groups. But it must be remembered that higher income groups according to Prof. Ropke provide the foundations which are essential to certain functions of society, namely, capital formation, investment etc. If higher income groups are liquidated by means of progressive taxation, these functions will hardly be carried out and since they are vital to a healthy society, there is no alternative but for them to be taken over by the State. It means that purchasing power is not available for the purpose of welfare state and welfare mechanism has to be abandoned. It is not the masses who gain through confiscatory taxation of higher income but the State which acquires extra power and influence. The consequence is an extraordinary promotion of modern absolutism with its centralisation of decision in all the most important fields i.e. in capital formation, in capital expenditure, in education, research and profits, "charity, honorary functions, liberality, conversation, leisure," everything that Burke included in the expression "unbrought graces of life" all these are strangled by the choking grip of the State.

### THE ROAD TO SERFDOM

The moral that can be drawn from this is simple. To run after Welfare State is to degrade oneself. Socialism seems to involve a state monopoly of supreme economic planning and in the words of Prof. Hayek this is a road to serfdom. The only remedy for this is libertarianism. Libertarianism tries to secure the greatest possible freedom for the greatest number of individuals and groups. According to libertarianism real happiness cannot exist without freedom. Libertarian's believes that man is born with an instinct for freedom and cannot feel happy is subdued and subjugated. To him liberty is the essential basis for happiness and welfare. State is not a welfare producing machine. Libertarianism is not a specific economic system, and

it is rooted in a non-materialistic conception of human nature. It represents a contrast to Marxian Socialism. The fundamental idea of libertarianism is that of freedom or liberty. Liberty is the faculty or possibility of making a choice. Liberty is individual and social. As an economic system it makes predominant use of reason appeal and interest appeal. The interest appeal is effected by price mechanism. Freedom of purchase is the very cornerstone of economic liberalism. It is through the use of this liberty that the people direct production and trade. Free purchase means the liberty of everyone to acquire the means for the satisfaction of his wants to the extent his economy permits. It is more democratic than democracy itself. Liberalism does not wish the State to enter as a party into any conflict between capital and labour. It regards the State as the supreme institution which has to stand above economic conflicts. Libertarian State always has some form of democratic government. Forced free competition is a contradiction in terms. Economic libertarianism is a system of free economic adaptation. So it is Free Economy and not Welfare State that will raise the standard of living of the people and increase their welfare.

#### BOMBAY INSTITUTION

If we really wish to raise our standard of living and thereby increase our welfare, then we must follow libertarian policy and in this respect Indian Libertarian Institute of Bombay renders a noble service to the cause of humanity. A libertarian believes in the private ownership of property, in the supreme importance and dignity of individual and in the right of a person to the fruits of his own labour. He believes that the individual has the right to make choice. He believes that man's purpose on earth is to develop himself as well as he can in harmony in an ordered universe regulated by Natural Law. This is at once his right to life and his obligation to live long and wisely in order to increase his happiness. To sustain life, he must have a right to own private property. He must be free to own it, to use it, to exchange it, to sell it, or to give it away on any terms agreeable to those involved. No third person or even the State has a right to intercede in the process of production and exchange. Ownership of property is meaningless concept if the owner is not allowed to control the property. Interference with private property means violation of moral law. The maintenance of human progress is individual liberty and as the power of the state increases in the guise of welfare state individual liberty decreases. It is in the libertarian economy that productive forces of the people are channelled so as to meet the demand of the consumers. In welfare state the State becomes a shopkeeper. "When the state becomes the shopkeeper, the customer is always wrong". In socialism or welfare state the democracy of the consumers is eliminated and replaced by the orders from above. Consumer is treated as burdensome fellow, who has to accept whatever the state-run or controlled production happens to produce at the moment. In free market economy one has to render appropriate service to the market and not to the state. It is the consumer whom the producer has to flatter and not the minister as in Welfare State; it is the market to which he has to pay the attention and not the Planning Commission. To run after Welfare state is to run after shadow.

#### RUSSIA WANTS U.S. CREDITS

Washington: The Soviet Premier, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, has raised with President Eisenhower the question of obtaining large-scale credits from the United States to finance the proposed Soviet purchases of machinery and consumer goods in America.

This, it was learned today, was one of the key points made in a letter Mr. Khrushchev sent Mr. Eisenhower on Tuesday calling for an increase in U.S.-Soviet trade. He said that in a few years the trade could reach a volume of several billions of dollars.

Mr. Khrushchev said some Soviet purchases could be covered by sale of commodities, mostly raw material, to America. But he said that if trade volume was to be expanded quickly Russia would need substantial long-term U.S. financing.

Administration officials said that present U.S. law would prevent an extension of such credits to the Soviet Union.

They said the United States was willing to trade with the Soviet Government in non-strategic goods but they expressed great scepticism about the possibility of any such volume as Mr. Khrushchev suggested.

—Times of India

#### Tito Warns India—Red Aid or Political Blackmail?

Victor Zorza, the diplomatic analyst, writing in today's "Manchester Guardian" observes that "Marshal Tito could use his cordial relations with the statesmen of these two countries with which Russia is developing economic relations on a significant scale to warn them against the dependence on Moscow, which the acceptance of Soviet economic aid might entail.

"He could provide details of Russia's economic-political blackmail which might make these leaders think twice before committing themselves to far-reaching economic arrangements with Moscow."

The Russian credits were to have financed fertiliser plants, a power station, modernisation of three coal mines and development of the Yugoslav aluminium industry.

Yugoslavia has refused to accept or negotiate on their suspension on grounds that Russia is bound to carry out the agreed obligations.

*Belgrade is appalled at the Russian excuse that suspension is necessary because Russia requires additional resources to develop its own chemical industry and that it "corresponds to principles of economic co-operation useful to both sides."*

—Current

#### RED AID WITH "STRINGS"

London: Is Marshal Tito threatening to "expose" the Soviet co-operation technique as a warning to India and Egypt?

The possibility is here seen in Belgrade statements linked with Yugoslavia's reaction to Moscow's credit postponement.

The Belgrade Government has not indicated the means by which it will pursue the claim to "full compensation for damages incurred" through Russia's unilateral abrogation of the past under which Yugoslavia was to receive £285,000,000 credits for industrial development.

# New Forward Look for World Georgism

**T**HE time has now come for co-ordinated *World Georgist Action* to be born out of the heroic work performed patiently over the years by your isolated "Pioneers of the Social Frontier" described in December 1957 "Land & Liberty".

Tremendous Georgist Potential has been uncovered in my world travels as International Secretary of the New York Henry George School of Social Science. This potential has undergone many patient, penetrating analyses, the results of which have finally been co-ordinated into a series of master plans and alternate plans for making Georgism *a world force in our time*. These plans have been partially tested in practice, improved, retested, etc. As soon as negotiations are consumed with those most intimately concerned, all findings and plans will be circulated in writing. They will take the form of a five year study of world Georgism and will be documented in detail.

**SOME OF THE PLANS** already taking active shape are that:

1. Dormant manpower, funds and facilities on a vast scale have been uncovered and co-ordinated.

2. Modern media of mass communication have been made available free to a world Georgism that can provide up-to-date, comprehensive public relations programs of general adult education calibre.

3. The New **FORWARD LOOK** For Georgism, in its organization and philosophy, has been developed specifically for a new era of expansion. Executive leadership and business efficiency are ready for any challenge, whether educational or political, whether in fund raising or the production of volunteer manpower. Academic structure has been reinforced with the original comprehensiveness of Georgism, ready to win initial amounts of public opinion anywhere.

**AS AGREED ON BOTH SIDES**, work in this field is being performed on a freelance basis, entirely independent of the New York HGSSS. It is, of course, in co-ordination with the same educational common cause and does not rule participants out of normal HGS faculty work or alumni activities in their own right. Public educational efforts on a world basis are being built on HGSSS courses as modified in 1956 by Montana Georgists and adopted in Washington in 1957 under the title of The New **FORWARD LOOK** For Georgism.

The New **FORWARD LOOK** For Georgism deals with social science, political science, economic science and moral sociology in general rather than taxation alone. This new packaging not only improves its saleability but presents it in the broadest comprehensiveness in which Henry George himself moulded it, the full comprehensiveness in which it was also developed by philosopher Oscar Geiger, founder of the NY HGSSS. It presents Georgism not as the thought of one man alone but as a composite of the best in some 150 of the greatest social philosophers of all time — which Henry George's writings really are (consult his bibliographies). It also includes a specific programme for graduates' home life and social activities.

The New **FORWARD LOOK** uses the NY HGSSS teacher's manual with streamlining improvements pro-

mised during the 1957 Annual Conference of USA Schools. In addition, Henry George's interpretation of the masters is given at length and verbatim in such areas as basic definitions, natural law, monopoly, private property, canons of taxation, international trade, wealth, value, money, labour-management relations, the Malthusian theory, the wages fund theory. This is a broader footing on which to base a world campaign that is an aggressively organized soft-sell, which we call the **AGGRESSIVE SOFT-SELL**.

**BY NO MEANS A PANACEA**, this new drive is at least a fresh sales pitch with life and sparkle that has, in Montana and Washington, attracted to our basic courses modern youth, business and labour leaders and politicians. The greatest immediate results of this system are: (1) It is accepted in outside circles as general adult education rather than as a minority reform effort. (2) Its automatic delegation of authority and self-reproduction follow from the fact that full graduates are also new group leaders. (3) Its broad appeal attracts students of rounded interests and abilities. While this, conversely, minimizes the important problem of crackpots and group disrupters, a specific drastic programme for such people has provided many answers to previously unsurmounted difficulties. (4) This format has also attracted adequate financial support, so far.

**A WORLD NETWORK OF EDUCATIONAL DISCUSSION GROUPS** is now being organized as promised, under the collective management of you and your counterparts in a few dozen other countries.

## **NEHRU PROVIDES THE AMMUNITION FOR PAK PROPAGANDA**

Mr. H. V. Kamath writing in the *Current*, Bombay, states as follows:

There is deep regret verging on resentment, in Congress circles no less than in the Capital at the ill-timed, uncalled for and unsubstantiated attack on "Hindu communalism" that the Prime Minister made at the AICC meeting....

At a time when communalism emanating from whatever source, is no longer a force or a factor to reckon with or bother about, when Sheikh Abdullah's tirades or his re-arrest have not caused even a ripple in the Indian political waters, Nehru's remarks would only serve to strengthen the hands of the tiny rump of the old Muslim League, whose demand gradually swelled from separate representation, reserved jobs etc, into that of a separate State for the Muslim "nation". During the last decade there has been no serious complaints from the Christians or the Muslims in our country about seats or jobs, and not even to the general treatment accorded to them.

The tone and temper of his rather angry speech at the AICC surprised many of his colleagues. A Minister of his Cabinet icily told me that it looked as if he was making up for the absence of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, though in fairness to the latter, it must be said that he had rarely spoken in that strain.

(Continued from Page 4)

Islamic world in union unless our policies put more store by common sense or unless we have a different and more realistic group of rulers at the helm of affairs at Delhi.

#### ON TOPSY TURVY FOREIGN POLICY

Until then it is desirable and necessary that the public organise a Foreign data, publicise alternate policies and hold discussions on important topics of current policies in so far as they relate to world politics from the standpoint of our own national interests. Today our foreign policy is orientated, more from world peace in general with a slant towards the Soviet camp, than from the interests of our own country. *We are pro-Muslim and pro-Soviet just the course which is the most harmful to our long range interests! Whether this is so or not—is a matter of the most urgent importance that needs informed discussion.*

#### DE GAULLE, ALGERIA AND INDIA

It is not known at the time of writing what solution General de Gaulle the newly installed Premier of France will have proposed to the French Algerian problem and what reaction it will have from the Moslems and the French colonialists. So far as is known at the moment, the General is hoping to rally the support of Tunisia and Morocco for a North African confederation or association on equal terms to include them and Algeria. Within Algeria, equal rights will bind French and Moslem peoples into a single political system. If neighbouring Moslems are neutralised in this way, a north African confederation under the leadership of France will become a reality—this seems to be the hope of de Gaulle.

There is a snag in the proposition and it concerns the *meaning of equal rights* as between Arabs and Frenchmen. The Arabs number nearly 10 millions and the French colonials some 1.3 millions. At present they are represented at the central legislature in Algiers fifty-fifty which is unfair and is unacceptable to the Arab. If equal rights are given on this basis of *one man, one vote*, the French will lose their privileged position and will have to accept a position of permanent minorityship.

Power will pass to Arabs in spite of their being less developed in modernism and technology etc. It is not likely that the General envisages such a full democratic equality. Also, there is the complication of oil being found in the Sahara! France will not easily consent to surrender this region to Algerians. If the general succeeds in forging this north African association including a contented Algeria in it as an integral member with Arabs and Frenchmen co-operating in a single system—all under the leadership of France, we shall have the foundations of one more *Arab federation*. It is clear that the leadership of France will not last long. Pan-Arab sentiments are too strong for it. And France is thoroughly discredited as a colonial Power. Nasser of Egypt has already assumed influence as a Pan-Arab leader in this area. He has smuggled guns to Algerian freedom fighters and his radio has been unremitting in its propaganda in favour of Arab independence in Algeria and in favour of Pan-Arab integration from Morocco to the Persian Gulf. Egypt is admirably situated to mediate between the African and Asian masses of Arabs.

The logical end of these manouvres will be the forging of a single Arab Federation, probably under Nasser, in due time.

It may be taken for granted that Iraq and Jordan will fall into line and be swallowed by Nasser's Republican Union of all Arab lands.

The next item in the plan of history seems to be the merger or link between Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islam.

When this consummation is reached, the centuries-old ambition of Islam to reconquer India and to establish a single empire from Morocco to Indonesia including Malaya will begin to be activated.

India should from now envisage this possibility and prepare for all eventualities. At present Indian diplomatic moves seem to encourage rather than halt Pan-Islam. At least we could be neutral but we are on the contrary as *enthusiastic* for Arab freedom as the Arabs themselves, incurring the hostility of European Powers meanwhile, which is not a desirable thing to do. Europe may be old and decrepit but in the coming generation at least, it will have a profound influence over events and it is not wise for India to incur her hostility. Nehru has condemned the way in which France has suppressed the Algerian freedom movement by terror. This public condemnation was not necessary at a time when France was trembling on the verge of anarchy and civil war. If Pandit Nehru's mind were open to suggestion, we could urge that he make no statement on international affairs at all. His representatives could express India's views on the floor of the UN when problems or issues arise there. He could also make one annual review of international affairs on the floor of Parliament in New Delhi. These frequent utterances mostly unprepared and unguarded in press conferences by the Prime Minister are uncalled for and disadvantageous to India.

#### PAKISTAN'S BORDER ATROCITIES

There has been a further atrocity in Fazilka in the Punjab. Pakistan police fired on a group of Indian police (who were negotiating or discussing some border incident) killing one inspector and six constables in cold blood. Nehru is right in describing this dastardly attack as *barbarous* and not to be tolerated. It is something that he proposes to demand compensation for the lives lost and damage to property if any. It is even gratifying that in the heat of the moment while answering press correspondent's question he said that Indian military and police personnel *will return fire for fire*. But immediately he withdraws the statement with the qualification that the Indian military are disciplined and *will not fire without orders from above*.

This border of Assam running with East Pakistan's border has been infiltrated by lakhs of Pakistanis from 1947. Indian Muslims are predominant also *on our side* of the border. They have allowed and encouraged their fellow religionists across the border to come into our area and to settle on uncultivated lands in their midst. Muslim officers are continued in this area by us. They have connived at this infiltration. The Assam Government passed a law to stop this but were prevented by Nehru from enforcing it in 1948. (vide speech in Parliament)

It is clear that the aim of the recent three month old military manouvres along this border of 800 miles *is to annex this strip of Muslim majority area in Assam!*

# The New Pattern of Taxation Analysed

By N. A. Palkhivala

**WHAT** strikes one most about the New Pattern of Taxation in India is that in one of its chief characteristics, namely, top-heavy incidence of taxes, it is really one of the ages-old patterns of taxation. But, in another sense, the pattern is really new because it comprises novel kinds of taxes introduced to form what is called an integrated pattern of taxation.

The first fault which many can find with the present tax system is its absolute instability and uncertainty. This instability is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the field of income-tax law. No year passes, some times not even half a year, without some material changes in the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922. No other Act in the history of this country has ever suffered more amendments or has been changed so much beyond recognition as this Act. Several of these changes are not made on any rational ground. Take, for instance, the law relating to the carry-forward of business losses,

Prior to the amendment made by the Finance Act, 1955, no loss could be carried forward for more than six years. By the Finance Act, 1955 the time-limit was removed completely and a loss could be carried forward indefinitely. Then again by the Finance (No. 2) Act of 1957, a new time-limit of eight years was imposed. In between, nothing whatsoever had happened to justify these changes.

## DEFECTS IN THE INCOME TAX LAW

There are many defects in the Income-tax law which work most harshly on citizens and which have been repeatedly pointed out in reported cases and yet nothing has been done to amend the law in those respects. Yet the law is promptly amended in cases where the Revenue is affected, irrespective of the question whether the proposed amendment is just and fair, or not. That all law is an experiment, as all life is an experiment, has passed into a byword. But experiments should not be so frequent, so short-sighted and so short-lived as to rob the law of that modicum of stability which is essential to its healthy growth. The chronic changes work particular hardship in view of the fact that the income is earned in one year and the assessment is made for the next; so, by the time the Finance Bill comes to be passed, certain accomplishments confront the assessee. No assessee has a chance of arranging his affairs even legitimately, fairly and honestly in such a way as to attract upon himself the least burden of taxes.

## A VICIOUS CIRCLE

The second thing noticeable about the New Pattern of Taxation is that it is in total disregard of any consideration for the convenience of the citizen. No one bothers to consider how many forms a law-abiding citizen has to fill in and how many legal formalities he has to comply with in order to carry on his business on the right side of the law. It is really a vicious circle: the more complicated taxes and the more

numerous taxes there are, the more administrative machinery, more wastage of man power, more government employees, and more public expenditure, and therefore greater need for more taxation.

The third shortcoming of the New Pattern of Taxation is the absence of justice and fair play. Many years ago, the House of Lords laid down in a classic judgment that tax and equity are strangers. But there is no reason why they should be enemies. There are many provisions in the New Pattern of Taxation which seem to be the sworn enemies of justice and fair play. Take, for instance, Section 23-A of the Indian Income-tax Act. The provision of Section 23-A requires companies in which the public are not substantially interested to declare a prescribed percentage of its profits by way of dividend. As the House of Lords stated in *Fatterini's case*, it is really a penal provision imposed on companies for not declaring substantially large dividends. Under the Indian law even if there is the soundest justification for not declaring more dividends, the company is still hit by the provisions of Section 23-A, except in just two cases specifically mentioned in the section. This provision of the law works enormous hardships in practice in many cases. Under Section 23-A, a company is required by law to declare a prescribed percentage of its profits by way of dividends. If it declares a high dividend, it pays a penal tax under the Finance Act, 1958. Imagine an Indian Penal Code which provided that if you commit dacoity you would go to prison for seven years and if you do not commit dacoity you would go to prison for five years!

## HANDICAPPING HEALTHY GROWTH OF ECONOMY

Another similar instance is the tax on Bonus Shares. The yield to the Government is very low from this tax, but in its operation the tax works as a grave disincentive to the growth of a healthy corporate economy. Such a tax should not be levied because, after all, Bonus Shares are issued out of profits which have already borne tax in the hands of the company and after the issue of Bonus Shares the real value of a shareholder's holding in the company is precisely the same as before. It would be a good rule of democracy if any Minister who wants to continue a particular fiscal measure should be able to give an answer in reason to an objection raised in reason.

The fourth flaw in the New Pattern of Taxation is that it owes more to an ideology, a doctrine, than to practical considerations of nation's development. As a matter of doctrine or pure theory, the integrated tax structure makes a beautiful pattern. There is income-tax which is levied on what you earn, the Expenditure Tax on what you spend, the Wealth Tax on what you save, the Gift Tax on what you give in your life time and the Estate Duty on what you are unwise enough to die without spending or giving away. That certainly makes a very coherent pattern. The only question is whether it would be conducive to the

healthy development of India's economy. If as a matter of blunt fact, India has too little to earn, too little to spend, too little to invest, too little to gift, then all these plethora of taxes seem to be a little misplaced. Where the aggregate of the Wealth Tax and Income Tax can alone go up to much more than 100% of a person's annual income, one realises that in substance it is not really the levy of a tax but expropriation of property without compensation.

In this context, one must bear in mind that nations are known to come to grief as a result of following a course based on abstract principles, but never as a result of following realistic policies.

#### THE GREATEST FLAW IN THE LAW

The fifth and the gravest flaw of the New Pattern of Taxation is the approach of the authorities who administer the laws. Innumerable assesseees have rightly come to grief as the result of tax evasion; but I have never seen a single Income-tax Officer coming to grief as the result of making a fantastic assessment, although fantastic assessments are made regularly throughout the different States. There are many cases in which Income-tax Officers have purported to reach certain conclusions where no rational mind, applying itself to the facts of the case, could have possibly come to those conclusions. With the advent of more taxes and a greater tax burden, it is eminently desirable

that those administering the laws should be independent and judicial in their approach and not try to extract more revenue out of the citizen than is legitimately due to the State. Tax evasion is most reprehensible, but no less reprehensible is unjust assessment to tax. We do not lack talent and integrity in our administrative service, but it is really the fault of the people at the top who exercise their powers of granting promotion in such a way as to give cause to the Income-tax Officers to believe that their promotion and prospects depend on how much revenue they get for the Government every year. The result is that in many cases where the taxing officers are themselves genuinely convinced that a certain order should not be passed, they still pass the order purely out of selfish motives of trying to better their own prospects.

If one has to choose between a change in the pattern of taxation and a change in the attitude of the persons who administer the new taxation laws, one would rather have the second type of change. The greater evil is not really the law but the spirit in which it is being administered.

In conclusion, one may say that it is better to have good and just laws which can be scrupulously obeyed in a spirit of co-operation by citizens, rather than unjust laws based on ideological considerations which even law-abiding citizens would find difficult in trying to obey fully.

## Communist Ministers Draw Higher Salaries Than PSP or Congress

WHEN the Communist Ministry took office, the world was told that these Ministers believe in simple living in people's service etc; they would live a Spartan life and move about on cycles while the Congress Ministers drew high salaries the Reds will take only Rs. 350. But what is the reality?

By the Payment of Salaries and Allowances (Amendment) Bill, 1957, the Communist Government decided to reduce the salary of Ministers from Rs. 700 to Rs. 500. The consolidated petrol allowance for a Minister was also reduced from Rs. 250 to Rs. 100 per month. In addition they are now entitled to Dearness Allowance of Rs. 65 per month. Formerly Ministers were also entitled to halting allowance for journeys performed within the State. It was considered by the Communists that it would be more rational to provide for road mileage for journeys performed within the State instead of a halting allowance. The Ministers now instead of getting a halting allowance are entitled to an allowance at the rate of 50 nP. (Rs. 0.50) a mile when they travel for official work in Government vehicles and at a rupee a mile when they travel in private cars. *The new system adds up to more than the old consolidated amount and the total salary of a Minister now exceeds the salary which Ministers were entitled to under the former system. Thus the approximate average income of a Communist Minister would be Rs. 1,585 per month.*

It will be interesting to compare the salaries of the Communist Ministers with those drawn by the Congress and PSP Ministers. The Congress Ministers drew a salary of Rs. 700 per month. He took Rs. 75

as Dearness Allowance, plus Rs. 250 Travelling Allowance (fixed), plus Rs. 120 as Halting Allowance. His total emoluments amounted to Rs. 1, 145.

The PSP Minister's salary was fixed at Rs. 500 per month. He drew Dearness Allowance Rs. 65, plus Halting Allowance Rs. 120, plus Travelling Allowance Rs. 250 (fixed). His total income was Rs. 935.

Thus the Communist Ministers would be drawing more than what PSP and Congress Ministers ever earned. In point of fact, between April 5 and June 10, 1957, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, the Chief Minister, received Rs. 3,301.34 nP. by way of salary and allowances *which is more than what his Congress or PSP predecessors had drawn during the same period.*

This year's Kerala budget bears out the hollowness of the Communist claim to austerity. According to budget figures, the estimated expense on Ministers for 1957-58 was Rs. 2.50 lakhs. But the revised estimate is Rs. 4.26 lakhs. *The proposed expense for the next year is Rs. 4.98 lakhs!* Even eleven Communist Ministers will now cost Rs. 4.98 lakhs, which means *each Minister will cost not less than Rs. 45,272 per year, or Rs. 3,772 per month.*

Besides, it is to be noted that the Communist Cabinet is the biggest the State ever had. The last time a Ministry functioned in Kerala, it was found possible to have a Cabinet of only five. The Communist party in the State, however, seems to need more than twice the number, that is eleven Ministers, in order to be able to satisfy every claimant from among their ranks, who may be in a position to press his claim.

*Freedom First*

# What Price Partition?—Or the Rehabilitation Muddle

**T**HE Government of India have decided that the work of rehabilitation of displaced persons from West Pakistan has been very nearly completed. It has therefore decided to wind up the activities of the Rehabilitation Ministry in the western region and to transfer its beneficent activities to the respective Ministers.

The refugee problem of India was truly colossal. But he would be a brave man who could claim that rehabilitation work in the western region has been at all satisfactory. The Congress Government of India can never hope to compensate refugees for what they were made to lose in Pakistan—an ancient home, and a great tradition. But even their material losses have not been made good by anything more than a fraction.

## THE PRICE OF PARTITION

The fifty lakh refugees from West Pakistan left behind properties worth something like Rs. 5,000 crores. During the last ten years these properties would have yielded an income of Rs. 3,000 crores at the normal rate of 6%. They would besides have appreciated in value by another Rs. 200 crores or so. *As against this colossal loss of Rs. 10,000 crores, the great Government of India sanctioned a compensation of only Rs. 185 crores. Of this only a sum of Rs. 76.04 crores has been paid so far, nearly half of it in the forms of lands and houses at inflated rates.* Cash compensation is limited to Rs. 1,000. The bonds issued by the Government are worth only half their face value in the market. While low income groups can repay housing loans over a period of 20 years, refugees must pay back the price of Government built houses in seven years. *Housing sites whose market price did not exceed Rs. 5 per square yard at the time refugee houses were built thereon, are being charged at the rate of Rs. 30 and more just because prices have gone up since such in this character of refugee rehabilitation in the Western region, about which the Government is so self-satisfied. The trouble with this Government is that it has no sense either of shame or of honour. Here are people who are the worst political sufferers of history. And this is how the Government has treated them.*

## WORSE WITH E. PAK REFUGEES

Conditions in the Eastern region are, if anything, worse. Having thrown Hindus in the Pakistan area to the wolves, the Congress Government insisted on migrants securing 'migration certificates' for entering Bharat—and then refused to issue such certificates to any but orphans, divided families, girls of marriageable age, etc. *In 1955-56 six lakh people came away. But, thanks to the new restrictions, only 11,000 were let in 1957.*

A sum of Rs. 100 crores has been spent on rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees. But in the words of West Bengal Minister Siddhartha Shankar Ray, who resigned last month, *not even a hundred families had been properly rehabilitated.* Rehabilitation portfolio

in West Bengal is being held by P. C. Sen who is widely charged with corruption.

Way back in 1952 a Fact-Finding Committee was appointed to report on the condition of refugees. *The report was duly submitted, but it was never allowed to see the light of day.*

Former Rehabilitation Minister Jain and West Bengal Chief Minister Roy are reported to have been convinced—in a report jointly submitted by the two—that except in respect of the Andamans, efforts at rehabilitating East Bengal refugees elsewhere would not lead to substantial results, and that ways and means of settling them in West Bengal itself had to be found. But all the same refugees are being sent to as far off as Rajasthan.

## LAND IS THERE BUT NOT FOR REFUGEES!

Two lakhs acres of "cultivable waste" are available in West Bengal. Dr. B. C. Roy admits that land might be there—but that if might not be available for refugees. The rivalries of East-West Bengal Congressmen are at least partly responsible for this dog-in-the-manger policy.

Assam, as a neighbouring province with great scope for development, is an outlet for Bengal refugees. *But Assam's Congress leaders prefer Bengali Muslims (five lakhs of whom were allowed to enter and settle in Assam around 1950) to Bengali Hindus, for political reasons.*

## "SETTLING" THEM IN WILDERNESS

The latest slogan is Dandakaranya. A sum of Rs. 100 crores is to be sunk in this 80,000 square miles tract sprawling over Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra. It is not clear whether the main object is to resettle refugees or to improve the lot of tribals inhabiting this wild area. Were the Government really serious about it, it would have constituted Dandakaranya into a Centrally-administered area—to get over the difficulties of developing an area spread over three provinces. But there is not even a hint of that yet. We hope the idea is not to benefit non-refugees in the name of refugees.

As we said, the refugee problem was, and is, colossal. But the Government has hardly been equal to it. When we remember that the little partitioned defeated West Germany satisfactorily absorbed one crore refugees from Communist-occupied East Germany, the feeling of our own failure grows deep and sharp. Today the Government tells us that it has spent Rs. 304.1 crores on rehabilitation work. It would be interesting to hear how much of it was spent on the Rehabilitation Ministry itself. The suffering would have been greatly reduced if population transfer had been allowed to take its natural course in the wake of Partition. But the Government was always dictated by considerations of political power. It wanted Muslims here for the same reason for which it refused the vote to Bengali refugees in 1951, and today denies them the very permission to come away and settle in Bharat. Refugee rehabilitation has been bedevilled by the Congress anxiety to perpetuate itself in power.

—Organiser

# Freedom Rests On Private Property

By W. M. Curtiss

**T**HE question of "what is mine and what is thine" is one of tremendous importance throughout the world today. It has always been a basic issue, but with all our material progress—our vaunted educational advantages—and our world-wide communication of ideas, it seems safe to say there has never been more confusion over this relatively simple concept. The way in which we answer this question will surely shape the events which lie ahead.

A libertarian believes in the private ownership of property, in the supreme importance and dignity of individuals, and in the right of a person to the fruits of his own labour. He believes an individual should have the right to make choices—conceding that many of us will make unwise choices, at least in the sight of others.

## FOUNDATION STONES OF LIBERTARIANISM

Underlying such libertarian concepts are various foundation stones. First, and perhaps most important, is a belief in an ordered universe. Call it Natural Law if you will, or God, or the Supernatural. But by whatever name you choose, I believe there are certain laws of cause and consequence which you and I are powerless to change. We may violate them—break them—but they cannot be changed. We see this very clearly in the physical sciences—the law of gravity, the principles of aerodynamics, and many others. But in the area of human relations the laws are not nearly so clear. The fact that these Natural Laws are not entirely revealed to us, however, does not prove that there are no such laws.

So, the idea of an ordered, moral universe suggests a timeless right and wrong; causes have consequences just as surely as night follows day; and we cannot change these principles. These are eternal truths and they exist whether or not we have discovered them.

In contrast to this view is the growing belief that people can decide right and wrong by majority vote. This assumes a completely capricious universe, wherein an action is judged right or wrong by popular opinion, and by how well it seems to work at the moment; there are no eternal truths—no laws that cannot be changed by man.

This, of course, gets into a philosophical area difficult to document statistically. Some call it the area of faith—this belief in Natural Law or God. But how can one view the wonders of the universe—and of man—without some such faith in an ordered, moral force back of it all?

## THE NATURE OF MAN

Tied closely to this first assumption—and perhaps part of it—the question: What is the nature of man? Why are we here? The great minds of the ages have directed their attention to this question, and it probably will be pondered as long as man exists. Let us assume that man's primary purpose is to develop, to the fullest extent he can in his life-

time those creative potentials with which he is endowed.

## THE RIGHT TO LIFE

From these two basic assumptions—that this potentials in harmony with these laws—we can derive certain rights of man seem to spring from them.

First, and perhaps foremost, of these rights, is the right to itself. There seems to be a natural right to life, in harmony with Natural Law. In speaking of this as a "right," I do not mean to imply that life, as we observe it, cannot be taken from one; a man can be deprived of life, and this has happened. Nor would I agree with those who think that the right to life means that society owes them a living. That seems to me to be a perversion of the individualistic concept of man.

If one has the right to life, then it follows that one has the right to sustain his life with his own time and means, so long as he does not infringe on the same of others.

If one has the right to sustain his life, then he has the right to whatever he is able to produce with his own time and means. It follows that he has the right to consume it, or keep it, and thus arises the right of private property.

If one has the right to own property, then he has the right to exchange, sell it, or give it away on any terms acceptable to the recipient.

If we accept these basic human rights as being in harmony with the Natural Laws of an ordered universe, then we can begin to build thereupon certain code of human rights resembling very much to a considerable extent Christianity's Golden Rule and the Ten Commandments. The various versions differ in their wording, but the ideas are there. It seems no accident to me that these codes have been formulated by peoples at widely different times and in different places. I am willing to accept them as, at least, an approach to an understanding of Nature's moral laws. Truth is something man probably always shall pursue, and he may catch a glimmer of it here and there.

## THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION

So far, all of this may seem hypothetical. It's the stuff philosophers feed on, but has it really any practical value? I think so, and will try to show why such a concept as the right of private property has practical application. *I submit that the entire structure of our advanced economy rests on the foundation stone of private ownership of property.* When we lose sight of that, the structure is in danger of collapsing. Though the arguments may sound a bit materialistic, bear in mind that they rest on moral grounds.

The key to our material progress has been exchange—producers trading with one another, or the trading of labour for money and money for things or for services. In the primitive economy, such as prevailed as recently as 150 years ago in this country, most people were farmers. Nine out of ten families

lived on farms and were essentially self-sufficient. They provided their own food, their own clothing, their own shelter; and there was little else. There was little exchange and the level of living was very low by our standards today. Capital and tools were scarce, and all able-bodied members of the family worked from dawn to dark just to provide the bare necessities of life.

Contrast this primitive economy with what we find today. We are fabulously wealthy by comparison. Even low-income persons today have things which heads of state never dreamed of having in the past—things such as better health and medical care, education, television and radio, transportation by air and auto, super highways, modern housing, and all the rest. The availability of these things may be traced to the accumulation of capital for the tools of production, which enormously multiply man's creative capacity, and to a highly efficient though complex system of exchange.

The capitalistic system of production and exchange rests upon a few simple, but important, basic principles of economics:

### SCARCITY OF ECONOMIC GOODS

All things of an economic nature are scarce and wanted. If a thing is not scarce, like the air we breathe, then it is not of economic concern. But the things we talk about in economics are scarce. These includes food, clothing, housing, highways, automobiles, medical service, the services of teachers and ministers and a long list of other goods and services.

The fact that all these goods and services are scarce, and wanted by persons means that somehow a way must be discovered to decide who gets what. Many attempts have been made through the course of history to solve this problem. For example, one method is for the strong simply to take what they can from the weak. Another way is for government — the State — to expropriate all production and dole it out to the citizens according to some plan. This is the plan advocated by the Marxists — "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need" — the rulers, of course, deciding on needs.

Remember war-time rationing of meat? The price was arbitrarily set by government below what people were willing to pay, and the result was a so-called shortage of meat. So a system of rationing, by means of tickets, was used to determine who got what.

There is a better system of deciding who gets what, one that we used for many decades, and it worked beautifully. More about that later. The point here is that all economic goods and services are scarce and must be rationed in some way. Who gets what, is very important.

### THE PRINCIPLE OF LEAST EFFORT

Another important economic principle is that we all seek the greatest amount of satisfaction in life with least amount of sweat. Economists say we tend to maximize our satisfactions with the least possible effort. On first thought, this may seem like downright laziness and not a very worthy trait. But further reflection will reveal that it is a highly worthwhile device — the very essence of conservation — the foundation of our exchange system.

Now, if this "least effort" principle is followed indiscriminately, it leads to trouble. Some people discover that the easiest way to get something is to steal it. But that system soon breaks down for a society generally. Besides, it violates our ideas of moral law and the rights of private ownership of property.

### SOCIALIST EXPROPRIATION IS THEFT

*It is only a slight variation of simple theft for people to join together and, by majority vote, take property from those who have it and give it those who have it not. When doing things the easy way is carried to this extreme, it has serious consequences as we shall see.*

It must be recognized, of course, that wants and satisfactions vary tremendously from person to person. One person may find his greatest satisfaction in leisure; another finds his gratification in truly charitable activity; a third prefers above all else living in a beautiful home; and still another gains greatest satisfaction from a large family of children. The variety is endless, simply because of the individuality of human beings. Any centrally planned scheme for dividing the world's production involves a forced conformity to one pattern of wants and satisfactions and is certain to miss the mark by a wide margin in the case of practically everyone. The more man has, the more he wants, and the more important it becomes that the satisfactions be left to the choice of the individual.

### SPECIALIZATION AND PRODUCTIVITY

A third economic principle important to an exchange economy is that specialization increases productivity. Person possess a tremendous variety of talents and abilities. Some make good doctors, others are fine lawyers, respected teachers, skilled mechanics, master farmers, and so on and on. By exchanging with one another the abundance of production that results from the application of these highly specialized skills, each is enabled to gain a maximum of the satisfactions he seeks.

The facts that economic goods are scarce, and must be allocated by some method, that people try to maximize their satisfactions with the least effort, and that specialization leads to high productivity — all point to free exchange as the most nearly perfect system by which individuals may fulfil their mission in life, developing their own creative potentialities to the greatest possible extent.

### THE IMPORTANCE OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

This system works satisfactorily only when it rests firmly on the foundation of private ownership of property. What is mine is mine, and what is thine is thine. Otherwise, how could there be voluntary exchange? I would hold that this is in harmony with Natural Law and the moral laws of the universe.

The right to private property simply means that a man has the right to what he has honestly acquired, either by production or exchange. He has a right to what he produces. He must be free to use it if he so desires, to exchange it with anyone anywhere on any terms agreeable to both parties, to keep it if he wishes for future use, or to give it away. A man's labour is

his property. He must be free to work for himself, or for another person on whatever terms they agree to, free to donate his efforts to any voluntary cause or simply to remain idle if he chooses.

But every day, on all sides, we see violation of the rights of private property. We still have rent control in New York State. This means that the owner of a property is prevented by law from renting it to a person of his choice at a price agreeable to both parties. The evils of rent control are especially vivid in European countries where such controls have been in effect since World War I.

In England, a man may think he owns a farm, but unless he farms it in a manner acceptable to the government, it may be taken away from him. *Ownership with control is not ownership at all.* In this country a farmer may grow wheat for his chickens, but if his acreage exceeds the government quota, he is penalized.

Isn't it a violation of property rights to forcibly take money from the citizens of one community and give it to other citizens in the form of subsidized rates for electricity? That is exactly what is done through EVA and other river valley authorities.

Aren't property rights violated when a citizen of one country is willing to exchange his product with a citizen of another but is prevented from doing it by government exchange controls or by quotas?

Isn't it violation of property rights to compel a railroad to hire firemen for diesel locomotives or other workers it considers not essential?

Isn't it an immoral act and a violation of property rights for a government to seize half the value of pension funds individuals have set aside for their old age? We have seen it happen right before our eyes, through inflation.

A moment's reflection will reveal many other invasions of the individual's right to his own property. Anytime a new proposal comes along, just make this test: Does it forcibly take property from some persons for the alleged benefit of others?

Suppose 51 per cent of the people, by majority vote or through their representatives, say that it is perfectly proper to do these things. Does that make it right? Can right and wrong be determined by majority vote? Are you willing to be guided in your religious views by the test of majority vote? Shall the majority decide whom you shall marry? Or where you can travel? No, there are still some things men will not have decided for them by the majority. But where is the line to be drawn?

Now, of what practical significance are these concepts? Let's be quite pragmatic. An economy based on private rights in property, with a free exchange system, can produce fabulous results. We have seen what it has done in this country in 150 years. There are simply no limits to what it can do. And even more important than the material wealth which this kind of freedom can produce is the kind of people it develops. Is there another system that enables — yes, encourages — an individual to develop his own creative potentials to the fullest?

But interference enough in the market place — deny these rights to private property — and the system will surely come to a slow grinding halt. Remove the incentives to produce and exchange, and in place of a flowering economy we will see a muddled mess of bureaucracy, loafers, people looking for something

for nothing, and an entirely dejected, unmotivated, unhappy, and immoral mass of humanity.

## SELF-DEVELOPMENT

Man's purpose on earth is to develop himself as well as he can in harmony with an ordered universe regulated by Natural Law. This is at once his right to life and his obligation to live long and wisely. To sustain life, he must have a right to own what he has honestly come by — private ownership of property. He must be free to own it, to use it, to exchange it, to sell it, or to give it away on any terms agreeable to those involved. No third party, whether a person or combination of persons, has a right to intercede in the production and exchange process. Ownership of property is an empty, meaningless term if the owner is not allowed to control the poverty.

Interference with private ownership, whether it be in the market place or elsewhere, violates moral law.

## TRUTH WILL STAND

The chief dangers to our economy do not lie in Moscow or behind the iron curtain or in some far away place. They are right here—all around us—now. The solution to this problem will not be found by electing the right president or congressman, or city councilman, or member of the local school board. It is not that easy. The answer, as I see it, is in understanding, by business leaders, teachers, clergymen, writers of books, magazines, and newspapers—opinion moulders—thought leaders. It is a long, tough educational job, and I see no short cuts to getting it done.

We haven't developed our present philosophy in this country overnight, and it will not be changed overnight. At least a generation has grown up in the belief that government can and should give something for nothing. If your village needs a new sewerage system, ask your congressman for a handout from the Federal Treasury — and it won't cost anyone anything! So long as such ideas prevail, we have the mechanism all set for continually expanding the invasion of the rights to private property.

"It is error alone which needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself."

## ATOMIC MEASURING DEVICE

A new atomic measuring instrument is enabling a United States tile manufacturing Company to achieve exact uniformity in the thickness of its resilient tiles for use in floors.

The instrument makes it possible to maintain within one percent the desired thicknesses of asphalt and vinylasbestos tiles, the company says. The device, made by the Industrial Nucleonics Corporation, measures the density of tiles by sending beta rays through them. Electrical signals from a thickness-recording gauge are then translated into lines on a chart for analysis of the manufacturing process. The company that is using the instrument is the Mastic Tile Corporation of America, whose main office is in Newburgh, New York.

## **ON THE NEWS FRONT**

### **PAK'S REHEARSAL OF INVASION OF INDIA**

Karachi: Behind the increasing firings and raids by the Pakistani Army on the Indian borders, there is a deep-laid strategic plan, called "Operation Chinks", the object of which is to find chinks in the Indian defence armour, and establish suitable fronts for the future invasion of the Indian territory.

I learn from a high authority in the Pak Defence Ministry that at a recent conference of the heads of the three Defence Services, at which the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, and the Defence Secretary, were present. "Operation Chinks" was decided upon by way of a six-month Plan to:

- 1) *TO DIVERT any concentration of Indian Forces in the Kashmir frontiers to other places.*
- 2) *ORGANISE a number of raids, shooting incidents etc., on the Indo-Pak borders with the object of sizing up the Indian defences and discovering its weak points.*
- 3) *SELECT such chinks in our Defensive armour to establish strategic fronts for a future invasion; and*
- 4) *KEEP trouble for India boiling along the Kashi and Naga hills and the Cachar district as a prelude to Pakistani invasion.*

### **U.S. PARTICIPATION IN PAK STRATEGY**

The objective of this Plan has been explained to senior military officers as basically defensive from the Pakistani point of view, in as much as when Pakistani or "Azad" Kashmir forces invade Kashmir, and India retaliate with a counter-invasion of the Punjab or East Bengal, then the Pakistanis forces should be ready not only to meet and counter such an attack, BUT invade and occupy Indian territories, with the ultimate object of calling for U.N. intervention and the occupation of the Indo-Pak borders by the U.N. forces.

While this type of strategy was expected from Pakistan, the most surprising feature of it is the gusto, with which the U.S. military advisers have participated in the "Operation Chinks".

—Blitz

### **PAKISTANI FIFTH-COLUMN ACTIVE ON CUTCH BORDER**

Rajkot: Pakistani fifth-column is active on the Cutch border. Pak intruders have often violated the Indian territory, both by sea and land. The most amazing fact is that the Indian national press hardly gives any publicity to these news.

Cutch and Pakistan have an enormously long frontier. From Khandla, the last check post on the Indian side, Pakistan is hardly a few miles away. From sea, too, it takes only 12 hours from Karachi to reach Lakhpat a minor port on the seaboard of Cutch. Recently scores of people were arrested by the Indian border police for entering Indian territory without passport or valid permits. Only last week a party of smugglers which tried in vain to make their way to the other side of the frontier, with some consumer goods, was hotly chased by the Indian border police

and ultimately arrested. The smugglers, when searched, were found with deadly arms and were discovered to be Pakistani nationals. And what was still more revealing, was that some photographs of strategic spots in Cutch were recovered from the smugglers.

In this connection it would be well worth recalling that some time back Pakistan had raised a dispute with India over the possession of Chhad Bet, an oasis with green fertile land, in the deserts of Cutch. Pakistan had claimed that Chhad Bet belonged to Sind, but after protracted negotiations Pakistan had to admit that Chhad Bet belonged to India.

In spite of this Pakistan troops continued to be massed across the border but with the despatch of Indian troops to the spot the Pakistanis withdrew. This action of dispatching Indian troops had had a salutary effect. It is surprising why this experiment has not been repeated during the recent Pakistani intrusions and firing on the Assam and Punjab borders. Inscrutable are the ways of God, they say, so are the actions, or the lack of action, on the part of the New Delhi authorities.

### **AN OFFICER AND SIX PERSONS KILLED BY PAKISTAN FORCES ON THE PUNJAB BORDER**

Chandigarh: Seven members of the Punjab Armed Police, including an officer, were killed when the Pakistani Border Police opened fire across the border at a place 12 miles from Fazilka.

Thirteen others were captured by the Pakistanis but later released. The bodies of the seven killed were brought to Ferozepur. Senior Police officers later held a conference and decided on a cease-fire.

The Pakistani fire was launched on the banks of a canal. While the Pakistani and Indian officials were holding a conference the Pakistani Police opened fire without any provocation.

It is stated that while a "white-flag" meeting was on between the Indian and the Pakistani officials near the Amruka minor canal, the Bhawalpur (Pakistan) Armed Police fired a shot. This was followed by a volley of Bren-gun fire resulting in the death of Mr. Bishambarnath, a sub-inspector, and six constables of the Indian Punjab Armed Police. During the firing that lasted from 10-30 a.m. to 6-30 p.m. the Pakistani Police are reported to have fired over 4,000 rounds.

### **ONE MORE FARCE OF A "CEASE-FIRE" AGREEMENT**

Fazilka: The disputed territory on the eastern bank of the Amruka minor canal will remain in the possession of the Indian Punjab Armed Police. This was mutually agreed between Bhawan Singh Rosha, Deputy Inspector-General of Police (Indian Punjab) and Mr. Allum, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Pakistan at Suleimanki Headworks.

The Pakistani authorities released today at Sawna border 14 Indian personnel who were treacherously kidapped, soon after the cease-fire agreement concluded in the morning.

## NEHRU CHARACTERISES FIRING ON THE INDO-PAK BORDER AS "GANGSTERISM"

New Delhi: Addressing a crowded press conference here Mr. Nehru described the recent border firing by Pakistan across the Punjab and Assam borders as "absolutely intolerable" and inspired by "a spirit of gangsterism".

He added that the Government of India had taken a serious view of the unprovoked firing by the Pakistani Police across the border near Fazilka in Punjab and will demand compensation from Pakistan for each of the six persons killed and such other damages as had been done.

## SOME HINDUS HURT IN COMMUNAL RIOT NEAR KARACHI

Karachi: Some Hindus are reported to have been injured or killed in a communal clash at a place about seventy miles from Karachi.

The clash took place some days ago, over a rumour that a Muslim girl had been kidnapped.

No details were available in Karachi but the news of the clash was confirmed.

## AMERICAN JETS FOR PAKISTAN

Sunder Kabadi, London correspondent of the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* writes:

I understand that as a result of the recent negotiations conducted in Washington by Pakistan's Finance Minister, Mr. Amjad Ali, the United States Government have agreed to give Pakistan additional military and economic aid.

It is believed in military circles here that Pakistan's military advisers made a deep impression on America's Defence Secretary, Mr. Mac Eroy and her Service Chiefs. They relented from their original position and have NOW agreed to give Pakistan 20 American jet bombers.

## TOP BIHAR OFFICIALS COLLECT MONEY FOR SHEIKH ABDULLAH

PATNA: Mr. Kedar Pandey, Deputy Minister, General Administration, stated that the Government took a note of a press publication to the effect that some officials in the State employ were alleged to have been detected collecting funds to aid Sheikh Abdullah, former Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State.

The Deputy Minister was reticent to divulge anything more under the cover that such divulgence was not in the public interest.

## KASHMIR "CEASE-FIRE" LINE TO BE VIOLATED

Lahore: Choudhari Ghulam Abbas, Kashmir Muslim Conference leader, has stated that more than 20,000 Kashmir "volunteers" would break the "cease-fire" line in Kashmir and march into the State "to liberate their brothers" in the third week of this month.

Mr. Abbas was addressing the workers of the All Kashmir Muslim conference here. He said that it was not a hollow threat. Details will be announced on June 13. He has asked the convenor of the "Liberation" movement to prepare the list of "volunteers" who would offer to join the "Death Squad."

## PAK WOMEN ON WAR PATH

KARACHI: While a high-powered committee on Kashmir meets here today under the Chairmanship of Prime Minister Feroze Khan Noon, a women's organisation calling itself Women's Section of Kashmir Committee has given a call for complete hartal.

The women's organisation proposes to stage a demonstration in the city and present a petition to Malik Feroze Khan Noon urging police action by the Pakistan Government for liberating Kashmir.

The high-powered committee has amongst its members Chaudhuri Mohammed Ali. Mr. I. I. Chundriar and Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, three former Prime Ministers, as its members.

## "FRONTIER GANDHI" EXPOSES HIS FANATIC TEETH

KARACHI: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan disclosed here last night that long before the tribal invasion of Kashmir, he had sounded the Government of Pakistan, through Quali Khan, that he was prepared to approach Sheikh Abdullah in order to persuade the latter to accede to Pakistan.

He, however, told Quali Khan, who had approached him for help in Kashmir, that before he undertook that mission he wanted an assurance from the Pakistan Government that all people living in Pakistan—Pathans, Punjabis, Baluchis and Bengalis—would have equal rights in the State.

When, however, the tribal invasion had failed and he was in jail, the Frontier Gandhi continued, he was once again approached, this time by the Nawab of Mamdot, the then Chief Minister of the Punjab, who advised him to approach Sheikh Abdullah in the matter. But the ruling party, he pointed out, was not interested in a solution of the Kashmir problem. Its only interest in Kashmir, he charged, was to use the problems as a handle to perpetuate its rule over the people.

## NOW MRA "INVADE" KASHMIR

Srinagar: The 80th birthday of Dr. "Hitler" Buchman, the MRA leader on June 4 last, was used by "god-guided" MRA-ites in India to launch a major intervention in Kashmir.

For the first time since 1953 incident, the MRA gang chose the Kashmir Valleys for celebrating their "Feuhrer's" birthday. Col. David Watson, an ex-Army Intelligence officer and Mr. Roser Hicks with their party flew here on May 30. Their main contacts in Srinagar are the pro-Pak leaders of the Plebiscite Front and the Political Conference.

In the course of their secret confabulations, they reportedly cavassed a Plan for the "settlement" of the Kashmir dispute on the basis of a confederation of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon as well as the the Himalayan States of Kashmir, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, on an autonomous basis, thus bringing back the monstrous separatist solution of an independent Kashmir from the back-door as it were.

The Plan has apparently been conveyed to Dr. Buchman by the Almighty Himself during one of the "god-guided" seances! It is well known that the U.S. States Department has been tinkering with such an idea for a long time.

—R.K.K. in *Blitz*

## JAGDISH CHARKHA—A GREAT STRIDE IN VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

As against the futile efforts of the orthodox Congressmen to whip up the dead horse of the ordinary charkha (spinning wheel) and the equally erratic brainwave of some khadi clad "inventor" of the Ambar charkha—wooden machine—in itself a contradiction in terms, is the appearance of the Jagdish charkha in the district of Kaira, Gujerat. It is a small compact machine developed by textile engineers, backed by actual experience in the textile factories, locally produced, easy to be managed by ordinary villagers. And what is more important, the yarn produced by this machine is equal to that produced by the textile mills.

This new scheme of providing employment to villagers during their lay-off season, has been sponsored by the Sardar Vallabhai Vidyapith, Anand, under the inspiration of Mr. Bhailal Patel the energetic and practical Vice-Chancellor of the University.

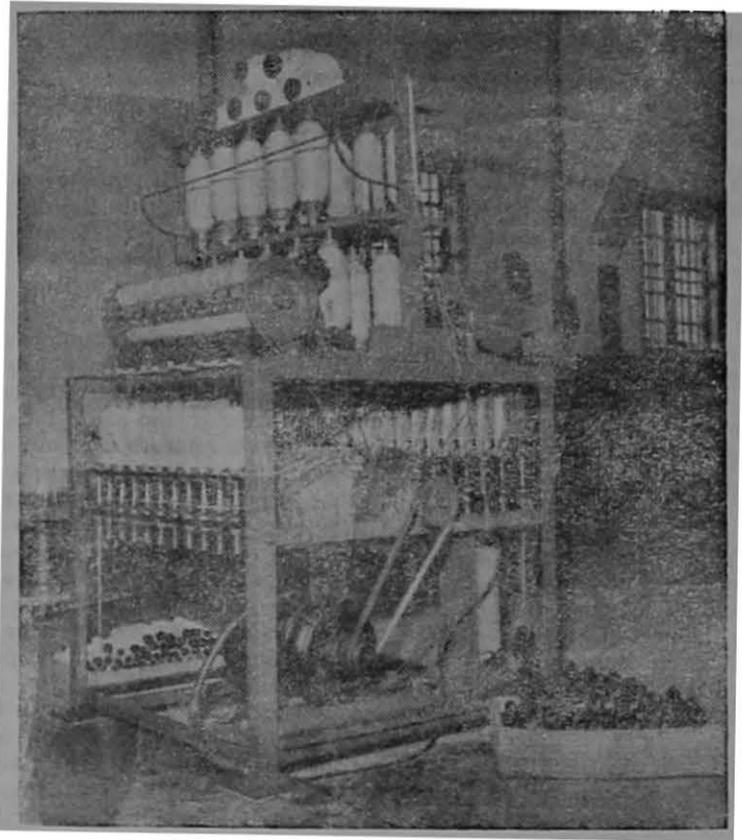
Under the scheme, economically-sized spinning frames and weaving units would be introduced in the villages of Kaira district and idle labourers would find employment in the off-season in spinning and weaving on power-driven, locally-manufactured machines. This would enable the labourer to earn as much as a worker in a composite textile mill.

The Centre of the entire scheme is the Jagdish Charkha, a 20-spindle spinning frame now being manufactured in the Vallabh Vidhyanagar workshop. An improvement on the Ambar Charkha, the Jagdish Charkha is a power-driven larger unit, developed by Mr. C. S. Patel in the Bombay Government Industries Department workshop at Bombay.

### COMPETITION POSSIBLE

Mr. Bhailalbai Patel said the yarn produced in the small units would be at least as good as that produced in a similar large-size machine in a mill and would be able to compete with the mill yarn in the open market.

A central blowing and carding plant has already been erected in the Vidhyanagar campus for feeding 700 Jagdish Charkha units to be located in adjoining villages, and the scheme will be implemented



A Picture of Jagdish Charkha

fully, once enough spinning frames are got ready. At present 50 frames are under production.

The Vice-Chancellor said the Jagdish Charkha scheme—a co-operative venture—was part of the Anand Rural University scheme started for the purpose of spreading education and employment in the rural areas.

Mr. Patel said in an interview that the purpose of the scheme was to find a *via media* between the Ambar Charkha and the big mills that did not offer decentralised employment to the rural worker.

### SAVING EFFECTED

Mr. Patel said by avoiding baling, transport and reopening of baled cotton, saving is effected in the cost of cotton at the spinning point and loss of quality by baling is avoided.

Mr. Patel said that the higher cost of labour is offset by improved variety of fluted rollers and belts and a bigger size bobbin used on the indigenous machines, which together resulted in an increase of 30 per cent in output. Ready beams would be supplied to weavers to make cloth production economic.

### SPECIAL FEATURES OF "JAGDISH"

All components and complete machines are being manufactured at an engineering workshop at Vallabh Vidyanagar, including electric motors.

Arrangements are also being made to gin the cotton on power operated Ginning Machine under the Co-operative Organisation. This procedure would be most lucrative for the cotton growers.

This newly designed mechanised cotton spinning machine of 20 spindles for 20's counts per eight hours shall produce approximately 7 to 8 lbs. of yarn.

Only one kind of cotton will be used.

Strength of the yarn will be more i.e. production will be increased.

Uniformity and smoothness of yarn.

90% efficiency will be obtained; while Mills' efficiency is 80%

The price of each Spindle of this machine is half of the price of Spindle of the Ring Frame, i.e. per Spindle the price is about Rs. 45/-. While the price of each Spindle of the Ring Frame is about Rs. 90/-.

# Book Reviews

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## M. N. Roy on Islamic Role In The World

**THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF ISLAM** by M. N. Roy published by Renaissance Publishers Private Ltd. Calcutta First published in 1939 Third Impression 1958 Price Rs. 3. Pp. 91.

High claims are made for this little book in the Foreword. It is claimed that "this small book on the historical role of Islam, in East and West, may itself have a historical role to play, apart from its intrinsic value as a scholarly treatise..."

The Foreword says that "a better knowledge and more objective understanding of the history of Islam on the part of Muslim as well as non-Muslim India might have prevented much of the later tragic developments and human suffering."

### TRUE WITH A DIFFERENCE

There is undoubtedly a large measure of truth in this judgment, but in a sense, different from the point of view of the writer, and different from the theme and spirit of this brilliant essay by the late Mr. M. N. Roy.

"The tragic developments and suffering" referred to by the writer of the Foreword are, of course, the Hindu-Muslim conflict mirrored in the Congress-League rivalry, which led to the Partition of the country at the dawn of independence in 1947. It was the climax and culmination of the failure of the two historic communities to understand each other. Roy concentrates only on one side of the picture—viz: the failure of Hindu, particularly Congress leaders. His charge is that Hindus did not appreciate the greatness of Islam on account of their "supercilious sense of superiority" to Muslims as a civilising people. This sense of superiority prevented "the Muslims from becoming integral parts of the Indian nation"! Without conceding such a simple-minded, partisan oversimplification of the many-sided web of influence and counter-influence of Hinduism and Islam on each other, down the centuries of Muslim rule in India, we can agree with the conclusion that a "proper understanding of history derived from a correct advent of the Mus-

lims in India will enable us to ascertain and stamp out the deeper causes of our present misfortune."

The advent of independence has not diminished the supreme importance of such an understanding of the role of Islam in India. As a matter of fact we find that the political leadership of the country continues to display the same lack of insight into the nature of Islam and the aspirations of the Muslims of India. It persists in the fatal error.

Roy says that the error lay in refusing to appreciate the greatness of Islamic culture. He makes a claim for it that is not made by any other apologist or defender of Islam, to the knowledge of the present reviewer. Roy makes the astounding claim that Islam is the most tolerant, intellectual and spiritual of all religions. The claims for intellectuality and spirituality may be arguable but the assertion of the tolerant character of Islam takes one's breath away.

It is true that Islamic history has a period of brilliant culture, immediately after the consolidation of Arab rule over the Middle East, North Africa, Spain and Persia. This lasted over three centuries and awakened Europe from the slumber of the Dark Age, into which it had fallen after the collapse of the Roman empire. Roy quotes from Havell to the effect that Islam made headway in India, on account of its more liberal social system, that gave an opportunity to low-caste Hindus to rise in the social scale. This is true no doubt. But he forgets to note the equally important observation of Havell that the brilliant period of Arab culture was stimulated and sustained by an enthusiasm for Indian culture with which it came into contact in Sind. An epoch of translations from Sanskrit classics in all departments of science and art, including medicine and of study in Indian seats of learning, such as Taxila in the reign of the Abbasids at Baghdad, kindled Arab culture which later enriched itself from Greek sources. (Aryan Rule in India page 255-7) The tolerance here was tolerance of new knowledge and the grant of facilities for the assimilation of

Indian scholars on the part of Saracenic rulers.

But the question is: Was this period of tolerance rooted in the nature of Islamic faith and social laws? No, it emerged out of the tolerance and enthusiasm for learning of the ruling houses and was contrary to the governing ideas of Islam. There is no more fanatic and intolerant religion and social system in human history than the Islamic, with the exception of modern communism. Roy agrees that this efflorescence disappeared with the advent of non-Arab rulers such as the Sejuk Turks and Tartars, who extinguished the lamps of learning and inaugurated an era of true Islamic conservatism, tyranny and the reign of force and cruelty that has characterised Islamic history ever since. Moreover, this era is closer to the original teachings of the Koran which is more authentically a Book of Religious Conquest than any other scripture in the world.

### WHAT ROY FORGETS

A study of the Islamic revival sponsored by the Aligarh school in India, parallel with the birth and career of the Congress movement for national liberation, makes it crystal clear that Indian Muslims were led by their leaders to think of a destiny for themselves separate from Indian nationalism. The claim for a separate homeland for themselves in India was but part of their creed. The full objective was the re-establishment of Muslim rule over the whole of India, as in the past, in which the part of Hindus and others was only that of subjects as before. The role of "integrating parts of Indian nationalism" and statehood on the basis of modern equalitarian democracy was offered to Muslims by the Congress Party even to the extreme of a blank cheque by Gandhi to Jinnah. They refused, for they had a different vision for Muslims only.

So it was not the refusal of the Hindus to tolerate or appreciate the Islamic culture of the Muslims that was at the root of Indian failure on the political plane that led to Partition. On the contrary it was the failure of Muslims to accept equal nationalism with Hindus that led to the tragic consequences from which we are still suffering through the intransigence of Pakistan.

It is important to know the true sources of this chapter of Hindu

Muslim differences in the current phase of our history and we agree with Mr. Roy in this need for study unbiassed by political prejudice and historical partisanship for progress can only be built on truth.

Cultural efflorescence in different countries at different times has many roots and requires many social and economic circumstances favouring its emergence and development. The Buddhist, Mauryan, Gupta and other periods in Indian history, the generation of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle in Greece, the Augustan Age in Rome, the renaissance and reformation and revolution (American, French and Russian) and so on are examples. In these periods of brilliant culture, it is unscientific to attribute success and failure to single causes such as religion, science or social laws. Even with the same religion and science and social laws, we have

periods of obscurantist decline as well as brilliant efflorescence as is illustrated in Islamic history itself. Stimulus from a foreign culture is a potent cause for the rekindling of culture just as we have today in India of which people like Roy are examples. The existence of a leisure class is another. The one functioning of the political system adequately protected by armed force is another. The dissolution of Kshatriya classes in the long reign of Buddhism was a contribution to the conquest of India by Muslims.

This is pointed out by Havell and admitted by Roy himself! "Indeed, the monastic degeneration of Buddhism and its disintegrating influence on the entire Indian society greatly helped Muslim conquest just as Christian monasticism had done elsewhere".

— M. A. Venkata Rao

## WELFARE, FREEDOM AND INFLATION

**WELFARE, FREEDOM AND INFLATION.** By Wilhelm Ropke. Pub. Pall Mall Press Ltd. Pp. 70. Price 3/6.

What is the greatest peril in our post-war economy? Inflation answers Wilhelm Ropke in his valuable book "Welfare, Freedom and Inflation". Inflation is the most serious threat to stability of economy, the State and society as a whole. It is a continuous fraud upon the retired, pensioners, the savers and consumers alike.

The Welfare State is chiefly responsible for unleashing forces of inflation. A continuous crumbling in money values is the inevitable result of unrestrained public spending, repeated injections of money into the economy unrelated to the volume of production and an expansionist credit policy. "Socialised" education, medicine, housing and insurance are some of the examples cited by the author who shows how these social services bring about an inflationary pressure on the economy. Compulsory saving-schemes by the State kill individual initiative, peter out self-reliance, and in fact eliminate chances of genuine savings.

The habit of seeing the State as something of an "Economic fourth Dimension" must stop. The State cannot give you something out of nothing. What the Welfare State pays Paul, it must first take from

Peter. But the number of Pauls who unashamedly claim for State-help must soon reach such proportions that there are left few Peters to be robbed and the point will be reached when Paul himself must be robbed to pay for his own "socialised services": in which case there will be a mere juggling of money from the left hand to the right hand. Surely, this is not "Welfare".

### PROBLEM OF INFLAMATION

B The author pleads for a more realistic approach to the problems of inflation, which he says must be combated both by public and private efforts. The two components of the mechanism of inflation are excessive investment and excessive wages, both reacting on each other. When investments in buildings and capital stocks are in excess of current savings the economy responds with inflationary pressure to the demands for capital. This "investment-inflation" ought to be partially controlled by the State by a limitation of its own investments. The high demand for capital in times of boom should be met by genuine savings instead

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of from the poisonous sources of inflation. Instead of controlling inflation the Welfare State worsens the situation by an expansion of national budget and ruins the chances for capital formation and savings by an unwise policy of progressive taxation.

"Wage inflation", the author shows is equally harmful to the health of national economy. Wage-increases stimulate demand without providing for increased production. They shoot up the prices. That is to say the employers pass on the wage-increase to the existing quantity of goods at higher prices. When the wage-price spiral gets boosted up, a depreciation in money values is the natural result. A real monetary advantage cannot be computed in terms of this inflated "trade-union-currency".

A powerful plea is made to check this inflationary pressure and the author makes a few constructive suggestions to that effect.

1. The State should curtail its expenditure and must strictly watch its national budget. A minimum standard of social security is desirable. But on this plea it is easy to over-step the limit and push the "socialised services" to a point of no-return. Increased public-spending can only accelerate the forces of inflation and the people who are supposed to reap the benefits of welfare-experiments are cheated out of their savings when inflation sets in. Thus the aims of the Welfare State become self-sultifying.

2. Individual thrift and voluntary private savings should be encouraged instead of killing the saving-spirit by heavy taxation.

3. Public consciousness as to the dangers of inflation must be awakened. Investments should be balanced by the size of savings Wage-increases can be justified only by higher productivity. Consumption should be limited by the size of current income. The Central Bank should not hesitate to tighten the Credit Screw when here is investment-inflation.

This book contains a brilliant introduction by Graham Hutton and is a must for our "do-gooders". If the reader suffers from any illusions about the Welfare-State, this book is sure to disabuse his mind of faulty notions.

—D. Theophilus

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